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INTRODUCTION

Green Spring Plantation's seventeenth century manor house has intrigued successive generations of architects, historians, archaeologists, and antiquarians. As early as 1796 Benjamin Latrobe proffered that the razing of the manor house at Green Spring would bring about the demise of "the oldest inhabited house in North America" and in 1932, Thomas T. Waterman called it "the first great house of the American colonies." Green Spring's broadly recognized historical and architectural significance impelled archaeologists to perform excavations at the manor house complex twice during this century and ultimately led the National Park Service to acquire the property.

As the home of Virginia governor William Berkeley, a titled nobleman, Green Spring's place in history is unique and its traditions are both romantic and chilling. It was at Green Spring that many of the colony's social and political elite were lavishly entertained during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and it was there that Sir William Berkeley, as Virginia's governor, handed down death sentences to some of the insurgents involved in Bacon's Rebellion. Meetings of the Governor's Council, the General Court, and the House of Burgesses were held at Green Spring on several occasions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Ludwells and the Lees, who occupied Green Spring after William Berkeley's decease, likewise were active in the colony's political life. Agricultural and economic enterprises carried out by Berkeley and his successors, the Ludwells and the Lees, demonstrate that Green Spring was a productive working plantation, which owners were involved with both foreign and domestic trade. Thus, the history of Green Spring, which is as complex as it is colorful, reflects the lives and cultural traditions of the men and women who successively owned and/or occupied the property for more than

three centuries.

In certain sections of this report, reference is made of a tract called the Governor's Land. This 3,000 acre parcel, which was laid out in 1619 and abuts Jamestown Island, should not be confused with the real estate development known as the Governor's Land At Two Rivers, which name is of modern origin.

For convenience of reference, three appendices have been placed at the conclusion of this report. Appendix A is a genealogical chart of the Ludwell family, five generations of whom owned Green Spring. Appendix B consists of the inventory of Philip Ludwell III, deceased in 1767. Appendix C is a tabulation of personal property that in 1898 belonged to E. Tomlinson Gill, then-owner of the Green Spring tract, who was in the process of selling the farm and disposing of its agricultural and household equipment.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

Although many scholars have focused upon the architectural attributes of the Green Spring mansion and its dates of construction and enlargement, relatively little effort has made to systematically retrieve archival data that span the plantation's entire historical continuum. Moreover, the extensive documentation generated during the years that Green Spring was in the hands of the Ludwells and the Lees largely has been neglected, despite the fact that elements of the seventeenth century manor house were in existence until the close of the eighteenth century. The later history of Green Spring also has been slighted even though the people and events connected with the property during that period left their imprint upon the archaeological record. Therefore, in order to address these concerns while expanding upon the work of earlier scholars, an intensive records search was conducted.

The research process began with the examination of historical maps, plats and surveys on file at the Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives, the Library of Virginia, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, the Virginia Historical Society, the Library of Congress, the National Archives and the James City County Courthouse. This was done so that culturally sensitive areas and land use patterns could be identified. Maps reproduced in published sources such as The Official Atlas of the Civil War, The Atlas of American Wars, and the American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army also were utilized. Tabulations of James City County plats and surveys that are on file at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, and at the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond, were examined, as were Confederate maps among the Southern Historical Society's collections in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. One plat, which is located in Stafford County, England, was of considerable use in identifying the Green Spring tract's southerly boundary line. Photographic collections at the Library of Congress and the National Archives were searched for nineteenth and early twentieth century pictures of Green Spring and historical reports and files at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources were examined.

Published sources were accessed through the computer networks of the College of William and Mary's Swem Library, the Williamsburg Regional Library and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Archives. Material also was accessed through the Swem Index and the indices to the Virginia Gazette and the Pennsylvania Gazette. Among the sources reviewed were the James City County government's collection of essays entitled Where America Began: James City County 1634-1984; the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's resource preservation planning document, Resource Protection Process for James City, York County, Williamsburg and Poquoson, Virginia; and Jesse

Demmick's manuscript on Green Spring, which was published in 1929. The work of Thomas T. Waterman and Louis R. Caywood's archaeological report also were examined.

In the second and more intensive phase of archival research, Green Spring's land ownership tradition was traced and extensive efforts were made to place the property's owners/occupants within an appropriate historical context. Land grants and patents (records of the Virginia Land Office) were studied in order to determine who first claimed and developed what became known as Green Spring plantation. As patentees often employed geographical reference points in describing their property, some of which are potentially recognizable in the modern landscape, attempts were made to identify Green Spring's original boundaries, which fluctuated as the plantation's owners enlarged or reduced its size. These data were supplemented by records of the colony's General Court and assembly. Deeds, wills and other locally generated court documents, including land and personal property tax rolls (which commenced being compiled in 1782), were studied as a means of determining who owned/occupied Green Spring at various points in time and assessing those individuals' socio-economic status. Demographic records (such as censuses and slave schedules) and agricultural census data also were reviewed and analyzed.

Because important historical events associated with Bacon's Rebellion were known to have occurred at Green Spring, a careful study was made of primary and secondary sources pertaining to that epoch in Virginia history. Especially valuable in that regard were the books produced by Jane Carson, Wilcomb E. Washburn, and John Neville. Specialized references focusing upon the American Revolution and the Civil War were examined in an attempt to determine the extent to which Green Spring was impacted by military activity. Use was made of a computerized data base compiled by the author for the purpose of identifying

Virginia's earliest European settlers and linking them with the sites they inhabited during the first and second quarters of the seventeenth century.

During the course of reviewing the work of other scholars, it was discovered that Thomas T. Waterman and others quoted from the pocket diaries kept by Benjamin Latrobe. Therefore, Latrobe's diaries (available on microfiche at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Archives) were examined fully. Because the inventory of Philip Ludwell III's estate was found to include a substantial quantity of indigo and the implements used in its cultivation, and because previous archaeological research tentatively identified the site of an indigo-processing facility on a Ludwell-owned property in relatively close proximity to Green Spring, primary and secondary sources were examined as a means of determining whether indigo was raised and processed there.

Seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century narratives and documents generated by Virginia's governmental officials were searched for references to people and events associated with Green Spring. Microfilms of manuscripts on file in the British Public Records Office also were used extensively. The letters and official papers of Sir William Berkeley, the Ludwells and the Lees proved extremely useful, as did the diaries of William Byrd II, Ralph Izard, Benjamin Latrobe and others. Especially helpful were letters William Lee sent to his brother, to whom he entrusted the care of Green Spring while living abroad, and the instructions Lee gave to his farm managers. Invoices for items William Lee purchased and shipped to Virginia also yielded insights into his personal tastes and material culture. One of his letter books was found to contain letters he wrote while living at Green Spring.

DATA LIMITATIONS

The availability of documentary records pertaining to the settlement and development of Green Spring plantation can be characterized as limited but good. James City was one of the four corporations created as a result of the Virginia Company's instructions to Governor George Yeardley in November 1618. At that time, the corporation of James City included land on both sides of the James River and it extended westward beyond the mouth of the Chickahominy River and Upper Chippokes Creek, where it interfaced with the eastern limits of Charles City Corporation. James City's easternmost boundaries abutted Elizabeth City, at Skiffs and Lawnes Creeks. In 1634, James City became one of the colony's eight original shires or counties.

Although almost all of James City County's antebellum records were destroyed in 1865, when Richmond burned, land and personal property tax rolls, demographic records, appellate cases, legislation pertaining to local matters, and documents that made their way to England somewhat offset that loss. Early land patents, which often employ geographical reference points still recognizable in the modern landscape, document the spread of settlement and link property owners with the tracts they possessed. Although Virginia's earliest-dated land patents are transcriptions of originals that were copied in 1690, the majority of these records are believed to have survived. Moreover, gaps in James City County's antebellum court records are bridged by military accounts, early newspapers, and collections of private papers.

The importance of the James River in the region's strategic defense, commerce, and trade led to its being mapped carefully by successive generations of explorers, military cartographers and topographic engineers. Their maps range in date from the arrival of the first settlers, through the twentieth century. Undoubtedly, the most remarkable early maps that include Green

Spring were produced by French cartographers during the Revolutionary War. The cartographic works that are available shed a considerable amount of light upon settlement and development of Green Spring plantation as a whole.

The narrative that follows is structured chronologically. It is intended to serve as a guide to understanding the phases of development that occurred at Green Spring plantation. Cartographic and other iconographic works have been used for the purpose of identifying culturally sensitive areas. More intensive documentary research should be undertaken upon specific archaeological sites identified during Phase I testing. Also, through the use of electronic mapping, the boundaries of Green Spring and its subsidiary properties should be reconstructed. Comparative research could be expected to shed light upon Green Spring's cultural history.

THE GENESIS OF SETTLEMENT

On April 26, 1607, Captain Christopher Newport and the three small vessels under his overall command arrived in Virginia, having withstood the rigors of a four month trans-Atlantic crossing. Newport, a capable mariner whose experience was unrivaled, was then in the employ of the Virginia Company of London, a joint stock company intent upon colonizing Virginia. The colonists explored part of the Chesapeake Bay and the region's major rivers before seating themselves upon a marsh-rimmed peninsula, where they built a fortified settlement they called James Fort or James Cittie (Jamestown), in honor of their monarch (Quinn 1977:392-393; Tyler 1907:5-23,35,123,125-126; Billings 1972:20-21). The site upon which the first colonists chose to seat themselves belonged to the Pasbehay Indians, whose territory extended from that of the Kecoughtans (near the mouth of the James River), westward beyond the mouth of the Chickahominy River. Captain John Smith's map of Virginia reveals that the Pasbehay king's principal village was near Dancing Point, where the Chickahominy River departs from the James, and that Mattapament and two other Indian villages were located between Jamestown and the east side of the Chickahominy (Smith 1624).

The struggle to survive proved arduous. The first colonists and the three supplies of new settlers that followed in their wake were ill-prepared to live in a wilderness environment and finally were obliged to seek sustenance from the Indians. Afterward, the winter of 1609-1610 was known as the Starving Time. The warmer months brought other hardships, for the marshes around Jamestown were teeming with disease-bearing insects and the colonists' drinking water was salty and contaminated. Documentary evidence suggests that during this period, when the colony had a military form of government and its inhabitants

lived communally, the settlers made their homes on Jamestown Island, venturing into the mainland to explore, trade with the Indians and seek sustenance (Tyler 1907:5-23,127,140-141; Bruce 1907:39-42; Smith 1910:161,235; Tate and Ammerman 1979:96-125; Hatch 1957:35).

In May 1610 when Sir Thomas Gates arrived in Virginia, having been shipwrecked in Bermuda, he found a handful of colonists who were "famished and at the point of death." Because he was unable to meet their needs, he resolved to load them aboard his ships and transport them to Newfoundland, where they could secure nourishment and passage back to England. It was only the timely arrival of Lord De La Warr's three ships a month later, bearing men and provisions, that averted the abandonment of the colony. Recognizing that major changes were necessary if the settlement were to survive, Gates and Sir Thomas Dale, who arrived in May 1611, instituted martial law. Despite its unpopularity, it proved effective, for the colonists were forced to work toward their own support, while contributing a portion of their harvest to the community store. But Dale also allowed the settlers to retain part of their profits, thereby instilling in them an incentive to work. It was during Sir Thomas Dale's government that John Rolfe conducted his tobacco experiments and learned how to grow a palatable and marketable strain of "the weed." His accomplishment gave rise to Virginia's tobacco economy (Bruce 1907:43; Rolfe 1971:7-9; Tyler 1907:24).

The Virginia Company's Great charter, enacted in 1618 and implemented in 1619, brought about sweeping changes, for its provisions made private land ownership possible and authorized the establishment of local representative government. It was also in 1619 that the colony was subdivided into four political units or corporations, one of which was James City. Special tracts of land were set aside in each corporation, acreage that was to be used toward the support of government officials or to

reap profits for Company investors. Within each corporation 3,000 acres were designated as Company Land, 1,500 acres as Common Land and 100 acres as a glebe or home farm for the incumbent clergyman. In accord with the Virginia Company's instructions, each of the parcels of land earmarked for special purposes were laid out and surveyed. Within the corporation of James City, a 3,000 acre tract was set aside for the support of Virginia's governor, what became known as the Governor's Land. It extended from the western end of Jamestown Island westward along the banks of the James River to what became known as Deep Creek or Lake Pasbehay. Immediately upstream from the Governor's Land was a 3,000 acre parcel that had been laid out as the James City Corporation's Company Land. It extended from the Governor's Land to the east side of the Chickahominy River's mouth (Hatch 1957:35-38).

The Virginia Company's new land policy (generally known as the headright system) provided prospective immigrants with an incentive to leave overcrowded England to seek their fortunes in Virginia. It also encouraged wealthy investors to underwrite part of the expense of colonization. The opportunity to reap substantial profits from growing tobacco (a highly marketable commodity) coupled with the prospect of owning land, fueled the spread of settlement. That between 1619 and 1623 a total of 44 grants for particular plantations (or settlements sponsored by groups of investors) were made by the Virginia Company's treasurer attests to how rapidly the colony grew (Craven 1957:45; McIlwaine 1934:xvii; Robinson 1957:21-22).

The intrusion into Native-held territory impelled the Indians of the Powhatan Chiefdom to launch a carefully orchestrated attack upon the plantations along the James River and on March 22, 1622, nearly a third of the colony's population lost their lives (Smith 1910:362). In the aftermath of the Indian uprising, the Natives made repeated but sporadic attacks

upon outlying plantations. This forced the settlers to draw in toward Jamestown for safety and mutual support. But the policy of concentrating the population also produced food shortages and fostered the spread of contagious disease. Later, the colonists made retaliatory raids upon the Natives' villages, burning their homes and destroying their food supplies. When Virginia planters' fears subsided, they began returning to the outlying homesteads they had abandoned. Although they were discouraged from seating themselves at sites that were too remote from other plantations, they continued to intrude into Native territory (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:443,460-461,556-557).

In August 1628 the English made a peace treaty with the Indians, only to call it off the following January, for officials felt that it was "a safer course for the Colony in general (to prevent a second Massacre) utterly to proclayme and maintayne enmity and warres with all the Indians of these partes" (McIlwaine 1934:198). Historical records reveal that the Indians were allowed to enter the more densely settled area near Jamestown only through "the appoynted place, at Pasbehay" (McIlwaine 1934:198). An intriguing reference to a "trucking" or trading point at "old Pasbehay," which occurs in a 1637 patent for land further up the Chickahominy, raises the possibility that Natives intending to enter the colonized area used the so-called Chickahominy path, which seemingly followed portions of the forerunners of Route 5 and 614 (Nugent 1969-1979:I:69,299).

As settlement spread and became more widely dispersed, and as the colony's population grew, there was an increasing need for local courts of justice. By 1632 provisions had been made for monthly courts to meet in five locations and in 1634, when the colony was divided into eight shires or counties, each was to have its own court. Each county also was to have a sheriff and a lieutenant or military commander, who was responsible for organizing the local militia (Craven 1970:166-170; Billings

197543-44; Robinson 1957:27; Bruce 1907:120). It was into this setting that Sir William Berkeley was thrust when he became Virginia's governor.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY

William Berkeley, who patented the land that became Green Spring and developed it into a manor plantation, was born in Somerset, England, in 1606. He was a younger son of Sir Maurice Berkeley of Bruton,¹ an investor in the Virginia Company of London, and he was the nephew of John, Lord Berkeley. William Berkeley completed his studies at Oxford in 1629 and then toured the Continent for a year. He returned to England and was living there in 1632 when he was appointed one of the Royal Commissioners for Canada. He apparently won the personal favor of King Charles I, for he was made a gentleman of the privy-chamber and was named one of Carolina's original Lords Proprietor. Berkeley, who was a complex and erudite man, became an accomplished playwright. His romantic drama, "The Lost Lady," was published in two folio editions and was produced at court and in London theaters. Berkeley was knighted in 1639 and in August 1641, King Charles I appointed him governor of Virginia, at time when England was on the brink of Civil War. Sir William Berkeley, as the Crown's principal agent in Virginia, carried out the king's instructions and worked smoothly with English officials. However, by relying heavily upon the advice of Virginia's planter elite when formulating public policy and by sharing his authority with them, he fostered the development of a deferential social order (Billings et al. 1986:49).

After King Charles I was beheaded and England fell under the sway of the Commonwealth government, Sir William Berkeley

¹ William Berkeley's mother was the former Elizabeth Killebrew.

remained loyal to the Crown and Virginia became a refuge for royalists in exile. He reportedly "invited many gentlemen and others thither, as a place of security . . . where they might live plentifully." According to Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, the governor's life in Virginia, as a gentleman farmer, "was a better subsistence than he could have found anywhere else" (Hudson 1976:6; Carson 1954:Appendix A; Meyer et al. 1987:526-527; Billings et al. 1986:49; Nugent 1969-1979:I:160).

Berkeley's approach to governing Virginia drew appreciative support from the colony's assembly. When the governor's salary was suspended at the onset of the English Civil War, the burgesses responded by passing special legislation, enabling him to be compensated out of locally generated taxes upon corn, wheat, malt, beef, pork, poultry and certain dairy products. The burgesses also presented Berkeley "as a free and voluntary gift in consideration of many worthy favours manifested towards the collony" two houses and an orchard on Jamestown Island that belonged to the government (Hening 1809-1823:I:267,280-282,284). Research suggests that the property Berkeley received was that formerly owned by Governor John Harvey, whose attorney sold it to the government in 1641 (McIlwaine 1934:496-497). Governor William Berkeley purchased two properties in Jamestown. Prior to July 1644 he acquired a 3 1/2 acre lot on the north side of Back Street from William Peirce, Sir Francis Wyatt's attorney, and before February 1656 he bought a nearby 12 acre lot to the east, acreage that originally belonged to Dr. John Pott. On March 23, 1649, Berkeley had sold the Wyatt tract to Walter Chiles I and by July 1656 the Pott lot was in the hands of John Phipps (Ambler MS 4; Nugent 1969-1979:I:340).

On April 18, 1644, when a second Indian massacre claimed more than 400 colonists' lives, Governor William Berkeley set out upon an expedition which objective was capturing Opechancanough, the Powhatan Indians' paramount chief, who was credited with leading both the 1622 and 1644 uprisings (Force 1963:II:7:6;8:7). Berkeley also set about reducing the Native population's strength by ordering the destruction of their villages and their food supply. In October 1646, after the imprisoned Opechancanough was slain by one of his captors, the Indians signed a treaty with the Virginia government, whereby they became tributaries to the Crown. They ceded to the English the James-York peninsula inland to the fall line and the land on the lower side of the James River, south to the Blackwater River. Forts were erected at strategic locations on the periphery of the ceded territory, securing it to the colonists' use. Through this means, a vast amount of new land was opened to settlement. Governor Berkeley also pressed for the strengthening of the colony's fortifications against a foreign enemy. All of these accomplishments reportedly made Berkeley the "darling of the people" (McCartney 1984:102; Force 1963:II:8:13; Washburn 1957:17; Carson 1954:Appendix A).

On June 4, 1643, the General Court granted Sir William Berkeley 984 acres of land "by name of Green Spring" on the basis of an undisclosed number of headrights.² The tract was said to derive its name from "a very fine Green Spring that is upon the land" near the branch of Powhatan Swamp that formed the

² Under the provisions of the headright system, someone transporting 20 persons to the colony would have been entitled to 1,000 acres of land. Berkeley's original patent for the Green Spring tract is not available for examination.

property's south-southeasterly boundary.³ Berkeley's Green Spring acreage abutted the Governor's Land, the 3,000 acre tract that in 1619 was set aside for the support of the colony's highest ranking official (Bruce 1897-1898:384-386; McIlwaine 1934:500).⁴ On June 5, 1646, the Council of State reassigned to Governor William Berkeley the acreage at Green Spring that he had patented in 1643. In 1646 it was noted that when the Green Spring property was surveyed, it was found to contain an extra 100 acres. The Council also allocated Berkeley a personal lease for 70 acres in the Governor's Land, which meant that he would have been able to retain his leasehold whether or not he was in office. In 1646 reference was made to recent surveys of the Green Spring and the Governor's Land that had been presented to the Council of State.⁵ Berkeley's Green Spring tract abutted Powhatan Swamp and was in the vicinity of Powhatan's Tree, an old oak upon which, according to tradition, a piece of brass was affixed to signify the conclusion of a peace treaty between colony's governing officials and the paramount chief Powhatan (Tyler 1899-1900:130; Nugent 1969-1979:I:160; McIlwaine 1934:480;

³ That property line is shown on a 1683 plat of the 3,000 acre Governor's Land tract drawn by James City County's official surveyor, John Soane (1683). In ca. 1770 it was confirmed when a survey was made of the Green Spring tract (Goodall [ca. 1770a; 1770b]).

⁴ Berkeley, as the incumbent governor, had the right to lease the Governor's Land to tenants, using the rental income toward his own support. In June 1648, Berkeley leased 200 acres of the Governor's Land tract to Captain Robert Hutchinson, whose acreage was described as being in Pasbehay, bordering the Powhatan Swamp (Parks 1982:227).

⁵ In 1716 an attorney noted that neither survey could be located (Bruce 1897-1898:384-385).

Bruce 1897-1898:384-385; Duvall 1979:37).⁶

The Green Spring tract's proximity to Jamestown and the presence of its "very fine" spring would have made it a highly desirable piece of property. Thus, some or all of it probably was patented prior to 1643 and perhaps escheated (reverted) to the Crown. This hypothesis is supported by the existence of patents for land on the east side of Powhatan Creek, which was claimed during the 1630s and subsequently repatented, and for acreage to the north and west of Green Spring, which title also was maintained (Nugent 1969-1979:I:109,147,173). As former Governor John Harvey, who in August 1633 exchanged 500 acres of land in Archers Hope for 500 acres "at Powhatans Swamp near Powhatans tree," he may have been in possession of the southeast portion of the Green Spring tract prior during the mid-to-late 1630s (McIlwaine 1934:480). During the late 1630s, Harvey fell into serious financial difficulties and in 1640 the General Court ordered him to sell his property in order to pay his debts (McIlwaine 1934:497). If Harvey still had his Green Spring property, he would have been obliged to dispose of it.

Sometime between April 1643, when Sir William Berkeley received his first patent for Green Spring, and on February 17, 1645, when Secretary Richard Kemp wrote him that "your people are all in good health and safetie att the Green Springe and the brick house there is now in hand," he commenced developing his acreage into what became an elaborate manor plantation (Kemp, February 17, 1645).⁷ The Green Spring mansion, which has been

⁶ In 1646 Governor William Berkeley also patented the land called Lower Chippokes, on the lower side of the James River in what became Surry County. It was land that had escheated to the Crown from Captain William Powell. Berkeley quickly assigned the property to Colonel Henry Bishop (Nugent 1969-1979:I:165).

⁷ In 1929 Jesse Dimmick hypothesized that although Berkeley had received his patent in 1643, he did not commence construction of his mansion until 1645, by which time he had had the property

described as the grandest house in North America, stood upon the crest of a high terrace that looked toward Jamestown.⁸ It has

surveyed and its title confirmed (Demmick 1929:129).

⁸ In 1928-1929 Jessee Dimmick, who undertook archaeological excavations at Green Spring, concluded that the manor house measured 97 feet 5 inches long by 24 feet 9 inches wide and consisted of three principal rooms on the first floor that were arranged in single file; to these rooms was attached an ell on the north front of the west end. He found that there were chimneys in the east end, in the west partition wall, and at the end of the ell (Waterman and Barrow 1932:11). Excavations carried out by Louis R. Caywood in 1955 produced data that contradicted Dimmick's findings. Caywood concluded that the Green Spring mansion consisted of two major components: an "old" manor house (dating to the 1640s) and a "new" one that had been added onto the earlier building. Caywood's hypothesis was supported by artifact distribution patterns and by the fact that portions of the earlier dated structure's iron sandstone foundation had been removed when the building was enlarged. Edward D. Neil, in his Virginia Carolorum, published in 1886, stated that the original Green Spring mansion contained "six rooms, as many closets, a spacious hall and two passages, with garret rooms," but he failed to cite the source from which he had extracted that information (Neil 1886:204). It should be noted, however, that although the archaeological evidence yielded during the 1955 excavations supports Neil's statement, he may have been hypothesizing, for the bulk of his descriptive comments were based upon a narrative published in Peter Force's Tracts and included in the Ferrar Papers, which makes no mention of the Green Spring mansion's layout. The presence of large quantities of charred brick and plaster indicates that the "old manor house" was extensively damaged by fire. In light of the inconclusive archaeological evidence and a lack of written records that indicate precisely when the newer portion of the manor house was built, Caywood concluded that it was built after Berkeley's ca. 1670 marriage to Frances Culpeper Stephens, or later, when she and her husband, Philip Ludwell I, owned the property. During the second phase of the Green Spring mansion's construction, the older part of the house was enlarged considerably and back and front porches, a gallery, and a drainage system were added. During Sir William Berkeley's lifetime, references were made to his greenhouse, a structure that was subjected to archaeological investigation in 1955. The sites of a spring house and a plantation kitchen (which apparently was used as a blacksmith shop during a later era) also were uncovered, as were the remains

been hypothesized that Governor William Berkeley initially built a home of relatively modest proportions at Green Spring during the 1640s and then added substantially to it in ca. 1652-1660, when he was in temporary retirement. It also has been theorized that he enlarged his dwelling around the time he married Frances Culpeper Stephens, a wealthy and socially prominent widow (see ahead).⁹ Certainly, Governor Berkeley's Green Spring plantation would have reflected not only his affluence, but also his social status and political power (Billings et al. 1986:82).

In 1649 Colonel Henry Norwood, who was newly arrived in the colony, set out for Jamestown to meet with Governor William Berkeley.¹⁰ He wrote that the governor

. . . was pleased to receive and take me to his house at Greenspring, and there I pass'd my hours (as at mine own house) until May following; at which time he sent me for Holland to find out the king, and to solicit his majesty for the treasurer's place of Virginia. . . . He was not only thus kind to me (who had a more than ordinary pretence to his favour by our near affinity in blood) but, on many occasions, he shew'd great respect to all the royal party, who made that colony their refuge. His house and purse were open to all that were so qualify'd. To one of my comrades (Major [Richard] Fox) who had no friend at all to subsist on, he shew'd a generosity that was like himself; and to my other (Major [Francis] Morrison) he was more kind, for he did not only place him in command of the fort, which was profitable to him whilst it held under the king, but did advance him after to the government of the country, wherein he got a competent

of a pottery kiln (Caywood 1955:4-8,11-12,14).

⁹ Berkeley married for the first time in ca. 1650, taking as his bride a woman whose name and date of death are unknown (Ferrar 1650). In ca. 1670, when he remarried, he was age 64 and his new wife was 36.

¹⁰ In a 1663 letter, Berkeley described Henry Norwood as his cousin (Berkeley 1663a).

estate [Force 1963:III:10:49-50].¹¹

One of the royalists Berkeley befriended was Sir Thomas Lunsford, a former captain of the guard at the Tower of London, who during the 1650s owned land that was in close proximity to Green Spring (Nugent 1969-1979:I:299,465).¹²

Another writer, whose work was published in 1649, stated that:

The Governour Sir William [Berkeley] caused half a bushel of Rice (which he had procured) to be sown and it prospered gallantly, and he had fifteen bushels of it, excellent good Rice, so that all these fifteen bushels will be sown again this yeere. . . The Governour in his new Orchard hath 15 hundred fruit-trees, besides his Apricocks, Peaches, Mellicotons, Quinces, Wardens [winter pears], and such like fruits [Force 1963:II:8:14].

Thus, Berkeley, ever mindful of Virginia's economic potential, was anxious to demonstrate the colony's agricultural diversity. Berkeley also was keenly aware of the importance of westward exploration in quest of minerals, precious metals, and Indian trade goods, and he encouraged expeditions that ventured into what was then unknown territory. In 1643 he authorized four men to venture into the land beyond the head of the Appomattox River and in 1648 he assembled a company of 50 mounted men, which he intended to lead personally on a westward expedition.¹³ Thanks

¹¹ Nearly 30 years later, Francis Morrison was one of three royal commissioners appointed to investigate the causes of Bacon's Rebellion (see ahead).

¹² Lunsford married Richard Kemp's widow, Elizabeth, who had possession of Rich Neck (McGhan 1980:775).

¹³ A little more than two decades later, Berkeley authorized the Batts and Fallom expedition and he gave a commission to the German explorer, John Lederer, who was "to go into those Parts of the American Continent where Englishmen never had been." Lederer, in appreciation, named the highest peak he ascended Mons Guliel Gubern (Mount William the Governor) (Lederer 1958:5,75; Beverley 1947:352; Carson 1954:Appendix A; Washburn 1957:17).

to Governor William Berkeley's interest in inland exploration, new trade routes were opened and the groundwork was laid for Virginia's claim to the Ohio River valley (Force 1963:II:8:13; Stanard 1902:51,55; Washburn 1957:17).

In Spring 1652 Sir William Berkeley was obliged to surrender the colony to a Parliamentary fleet that sailed into Hampton Roads. He relinquished his governorship to Richard Bennett,¹⁴ and retired to Green Spring, where he channeled his energies into agricultural experimentation.¹⁵ In March 1651, he had acquired 5,062 acres that lay between the head of Powhatan Swamp and Jones Creek (a branch of the Chickahominy River), a land claim that was reaffirmed in October 1662 (Parks 1982:239,241; McIlwaine 1934:503).¹⁶ On October 9, 1652, Berkeley repatented the Green Spring tract, which was then described as 1,090 acres that abutted north upon the landholdings of Robert Wetherell and William Edwards, south-southeast upon the Governor's Land, west toward the patent of Captain Bridges Freeman, and west-southwest upon the Chickahominy Path (Route 5's forerunner). He also received a patent for an additional 1,000 acres that he had

¹⁴ Under the terms of the articles of surrender, Berkeley and the members of his council had the right to leave the colony any time within the coming year and to be free of potential arrests or other hindrances for six months after they returned to England. Berkeley was authorized to hire a ship to transport his personal belongings to England or Holland and he was guaranteed that none of the Commonwealth's ships would molest him or his cargo while at sea (Hening 1809-1823:I:366-367).

¹⁵ In 1655 Berkeley sold Bennett the westernmost bay of his brick rowhouse in Jamestown.

¹⁶ Green Spring and the 5,062 acres on Jones Creek were not the only tracts that Governor William Berkeley owned in James City County. He also was in possession of what was called the Hot Water Dividend, which had come into his hands by the 1660s (Nugent 1969-1979:I:465;II:223).

purchased from Robert Wetherell on May 11, 1652, a tract comprised of 700 acres that abutted west upon Thomas Stout and Richard Bell and south and east upon Powhatan Swamp, plus 300 acres that were at the head of Richard Bell's land and abutted the acreage of Christian Williams and John Edwards. Thus, the Wetherell tract lay to the north of Green Spring and was contiguous to the land Berkeley already owned. These properties, as an aggregate of 2,090 acres, were confirmed to Sir William Berkeley on March 7, 1661, who by that time had regained the governorship (Nugent 1969-1979:I:173,415; Parks 1982:241). Three years later, in 1664, the Council reaffirmed Berkeley's 2,090 acre patent and renewed his lease for the 70 acre parcel in the Governor's Land tract that he had begun renting in 1646 (Hening 1809-1823:II:319-321;McIlwaine 1934:503).

After the death of Governor Samuel Mathews in 1659, the colony's assembly appointed Sir William Berkeley as Virginia's governor (Hening 1809-1823:I:5,530). On March 23, 1661, Berkeley set sail for England to promote the colony's interests in the policy-making decisions of the newly formed Restoration government (Hening 1809-1823:II:17). During the summer of 1661 Berkeley made many appearances before the Council for Foreign Plantations, where he lobbied against the Navigation Acts. In August 1661 he was asked to produce a written report on the colony's economic situation. He presented an oral account in July 1662, which he followed with a treatise entitled A Discourse and View of Virginia, published in 1663. Berkeley asserted that the colony needed the Crown's financial and political backing if it were to exploit its abundance of natural resources and he argued that England's best hopes of economic supremacy lay in making Virginia the keystone of the empire. He claimed that the biggest impediment to Virginia's realizing its true economic potential was the lack of skilled workers capable of producing staple commodities such as timber products, silk,

flax, lead, pitch, tar, hemp, potashes and iron (Berkeley 1663b:2,4; McCartney 1984:99; Washburn 1957:104-105).¹⁷

According to Robert Beverley II, Governor William Berkeley experimented personally with trials of potash, flax, hemp, silk and other products in an attempt to promote Virginia's potential for manufacturing. He also turned his attention to the production of glass and earthenware and exhibited an interest in salt-making. Archaeological excavations carried out at Green Spring in 1928-1929 revealed that a small glass furnace once stood near some old brick kilns on Powhatan Creek. One of the furnace's bricks were inscribed "H.A.L." and bore the date "August 6, 1666" (Beverley 1947:72; McIlwaine 1934:515; Griesenauer 1956:20; Carson 1954:12). During the excavations conducted by Louis R. Caywood in 1955 the site of a pottery kiln was uncovered in an area to the southeast of Green Spring mansion. Caywood dated the structure to ca. 1665 on the basis of artifacts found in association with fragments of kiln furniture and wasters. He concluded that the earthenwares produced at Green Spring were tangible evidence of Governor Berkeley's attempt to produce marketable commodities (Caywood 1955:13).

In an April 1663 letter Governor William Berkeley informed an associate that he had

. . . sent home another Tunn of Potashes¹⁸ and if it yields

¹⁷ Upon Berkeley's return to Virginia it was noted in the General Court records that he "styles himself Governor and Captain Genl. of Virginia and Carolina" (McIlwaine 1934:493).

¹⁸ In order to produce potash, wood ashes were wet down in hoppers and the alkaline liquid that seeped off was collected. This "black lye" was then boiled in cast iron pots until its water content evaporated, yielding lye granules or black salt. After the excess carbon was removed from the black salt, the purified lye could be used in the production of soap and glass (Tunis 1972:118). As timber was in short supply in the Mother Country and wood was plentiful in the New World, the production of potash in Virginia would have fulfilled a resource need.

but a reasonable price I shall by God's blessing send home 200 Tunns more made by my own family besides what the Country will do when they hear my Labours are successful. . . The next year we shall make a visible entrance into those stable commodities as flax and hemp [Berkeley 1663a].

Berkeley also sent to London 49 pieces of black walnut lumber, which he said was enough to wainscot five or six rooms. He indicated that during the previous year he had produced wine and "I drank as good of my own planting as ever came out of Italy" and he offered to send a friend at court "a Hogshead of Virginia wine" (Berkeley 1663a). Robert Beverley II, whose father was very familiar with Green Spring and Berkeley's interest in horticulture, said that the governor's attempts at viniculture were hindered by his plantation's proximity to the James River's brackish water and his decision to use trees as a trellis for his grapevines (Beverley 1947:135).

The mid-1660s were a time of trial for Governor William Berkeley, for while he was grappling with King Charles II's imperialistic policies toward the colony and trying to promote economic development, severe weather wrought massive destruction and the Dutch attacked Virginia's tobacco fleet. In April 1667 a hailstorm pummeled spring crops and reportedly injured the colonists' cattle. Then, in June the Dutch sailed into the James River and captured or sunk 20 vessels heavy-laden with tobacco and awaiting the outbound tide. Mid-summer brought a rainy spell that lasted for 40 days, drowning summer crops. Finally, on August 27th a hurricane struck that reportedly blew down 10,000 houses and destroyed the year's corn and tobacco crops (Stanard 1911:250-251).¹⁹ These disasters, as an aggregate, must have been demoralizing for the colonists and their elderly governor.²⁰

¹⁹ It is uncertain to what (if any) extent Green Spring was affected by the 1667 hurricane.

²⁰ In 1670 the German cartographer Augustine Herrmann (1673) made

In April 1670, when Governor William Berkeley was age 64, he married Frances Culpeper Stephens, the 36-year-old widow of Samuel Stephens, the governor of Albemarle or Carolina (Gaines 1957:31).¹ A woman who has been described as intelligent, high spirited and fiercely loyal to Berkeley, she was the cousin of Sir Thomas Culpeper (Stanard 1925:352; Parks 1982:446). The aging governor and his relatively young bride-to-be executed a prenuptial agreement whereby he conveyed to her a life estate of 600 L sterling as annual income (McIlwaine 1934:514). On April 20, 1671, Berkeley and his wife sold to Colonel William Cole 1,350 acres of land in Warwick County,²¹ a plantation called Boldrup that she had inherited from her late husband, Samuel Stephens. Cited was a marriage contract that Stephens had made with his bride-to-be, Frances Culpeper, whereby he agreed to deed Boldrup to two trustees who at his death would relinquish it to her and any children they had together, or in the absence of such heirs, to Frances herself. Thus, it was as Samuel Stephens' widow and heir that Lady Frances Berkeley and her second husband, Sir William, conveyed Boldrup to Colonel William Cole (Hening 1809-1823:II:319-325).²² On April 7, 1671, William Berkeley sold all three units of his brick rowhouse in Jamestown, including the dwelling he had conveyed to Richard Bennett in 1655 and reacquired (Meyer et al. 1987:587; McIlwaine 1934:503,514-515). The sale of Boldrup and the dwelling in Jamestown would have provided William and Frances Berkeley with a substantial

a map of Virginia and Maryland on which he identified the site of Green Spring, thereby indicating that the plantation was considered a well known landmark.

²¹ The Stephens plantation, Boldrup, now lies within the corporate limits of Newport News.

²² In September 1674, the deed between the Berkeleys and Cole was entered into the public record (Hening 1809-1823:II:319-325).

infusion of wealth that would have enabled them to expand the Green Spring mansion significantly.

In the autumn of 1674, the Grand Assembly, with the encouragement of the Governor's Council, passed an act, acknowledging Sir William Berkeley's legal entitlement to his enlarged Green Spring plantation (his original 1,090 acres plus the 1,000 he bought from Robert Weatherall in 1652) and extending for 99 years the lease he held for 70 acres in the Governor's Land. The text of the act confirming Berkeley's right to Green Spring noted that he "hath expended a great summe of mony in building and otherwise upon the said land" (Hening 1809-1823:II:319-321; McIlwaine 1934:503).²³

In 1671 Governor William Berkeley again acquired the Surry County plantation called Chippokes (or Lower Chippokes). This time, he purchased it from the estate of John Grove. Colonel Thomas Swann, who was serving as the decedent's administrator, noted in his accounts that he had received 310 pounds "of the Honorable Governor for the Plantation viz Chipoks" (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1672-1684:23). The plantation was in Berkeley's possession at the time of his death and descended to his widow and her heirs.

Governor William Berkeley's lengthy tenure in office and his advancing age may have made him somewhat intolerant and heightened his sense of possessiveness, for in 1673 he had Benjamin Eggleston, his neighbor's son, hauled before the General Court for having "presumptuously and impudently intrenched upon

²³ Berkeley patented 10,000 acres in New Kent County, on the south side of the York River in April 1674, at which time he presented a survey for that land and requested (and received) a seven year extension of the time he had to seat it (McIlwaine 1934:365). In 1675 later Berkeley appointed his brother-in-law, Alexander Culpeper, the colony's surveyor-general (Bruce 1897-1898:385; Parks 1982:173,446).

the prerogative and abused the Authority of the Right Honorable the Governor." Although the nature of Eggleston's offence is unclear, he received 39 lashes at Jamestown's whipping post and was fined 3,000 lbs. of tobacco that was to be used toward the purchase of firearms for the colony (McIlwaine 1934:348).

During the mid-1670s circumstances conspired against Governor William Berkeley, who was then nearly 70-years-old and in declining health. During Berkeley's administration, members of the colony's planter elite gradually solidified their position, with the result that those outside of the circle of privilege became increasingly discontented and began to perceive public officials as opportunists reaping a handsome profit from offices that were a public trust. The colonists also chafed under the restraints of the Navigation Acts, which prohibited them from selling tobacco to countries other than England. Although Berkeley had encouraged Virginia planters to diversify the colony's economy through the production of manufactured goods and he tried to set a good example himself, few people responded favorably to that idea. Moreover, King Charles II began bestowing grants of Virginia land upon his favorites, along with the privilege of collecting revenues. As taxes soared, there were troubles with the Indians on the colony's frontiers and a genuine fear of foreign invasion, which took form in 1673 when the Dutch invaded Virginia's waters a second time and attacked tobacco fleet (Billings et al. 1986:76; Wertenbaker 1957:7-8).

It was into this scenario that Nathaniel Bacon was thrust when he arrived in Virginia in 1674.²⁴ As rumors of Indian

²⁴ Bacon, who was son of a well-to-do Suffolk gentleman and the cousin (by marriage) of Governor William Berkeley, was said to be quick-witted and ambitious but arrogant, "impatient of labor," and a troublemaker. His father had withdrawn him from Cambridge University in the wake of some undescribed "extravagances," provided him with £1,800, and dispatched him to Virginia. Soon after his arrival, he purchased a plantation at Curles, near the head of the falls of the James River, where he constructed a

troubles in the New England colonies spread and sporadic outbreaks of violence occurred on the fringes of Virginia's frontiers, Virginians became increasingly nervous as they waited for their governor to take action. Nathaniel Bacon, whose plantation in Henrico County had come under attack with the loss of two lives, eagerly agreed to lead a group of volunteers from the south side of the James River in an expedition against the Indians. In April 1676 he and his men set out for the southern part of the colony. Although Governor Berkeley sent word to Bacon, ordering him to cease his military operations and report to Jamestown, he responded by demanding a commission to lead a march against the Indians.²⁵ This prompted Berkeley to declare Bacon a rebel and to mobilize his own forces in an attempt to head him off before he reached the colony's frontier. Thus began the popular uprising known as Bacon's Rebellion, which spread throughout Tidewater Virginia and left a bloody imprint upon the history of Green Spring plantation (Washburn 1957:18-19, 46-47; Billings et al. 1986:77-96).²⁶

personal residence. In March 1675 Governor Berkeley appointed young Nathaniel Bacon to the Council of State, of which his uncle (Colonel Nathaniel Bacon) already was a member (Washburn 1957:18-19).

²⁵ Bacon attacked turned upon the Oconeechee who had just served as his allies in attacking the Iroquois.

²⁶ Berkeley, who was 70-years-old and in failing health, prepared his will on May 2, 1676, naming his wife, Frances, as his heir (Hening 1809-1823:II:559). Exactly a month later, having returned from his pursuit of Bacon, Berkeley wrote an official in England that he was "so over wearied with riding into all parts of the country to stop this violent rebellion that I am not able to support myself at this age six months longer and therefore on my knees I beg his sacred majesty would send a more vigorous governor" (Washburn 1957:48). On June 1, 1676, Lady Frances Berkeley set sail for England, intending to serve as her husband's advocate (Carson 1976:7).

Nathaniel Bacon, having returned from his march against the Occoneechee, set out for Jamestown in a sloop bearing 50 armed men. Although he arrived there on June 6th and slipped ashore to confer with two of his more prominent supporters, when he returned to his sloop, he was captured and brought before Berkeley. Two days later, Bacon asked the governor's forgiveness and presented him with a written apology. Berkeley responded by pardoning Bacon and restoring him to his Council seat. There also is evidence that Berkeley promised him a commission to lead an expedition against the Indians.²⁷ Afterward, Bacon withdrew to his plantation at Curles. However, on June 23, 1676, he returned to Jamestown, at the head of an estimated 600 supporters, and demanded a commission authorizing him to undertake a march against the Indians. Although Berkeley at first demurred, when Bacon's followers reiterated his demands at gunpoint and threatened to kill members of the Council and assembly if they refused to cooperate, they agreed. Shortly thereafter, Bacon prevailed upon the burgesses to include some of his ideas in the legislation they were considering. Then, he departed from Jamestown and Berkeley dissolved the colony's assembly (Washburn 1957:51-53, 58-59, 65, 68; Billings et al. 1986:77-96).

On June 26th Governor Berkeley withdrew to Green Spring. At that juncture, Nathaniel Bacon and his followers commenced roving about the countryside, attempting to press men into service and acquire ammunition and supplies for use in the Indian offensive.²⁸

²⁷ Literally hundreds of Bacon's supporters streamed into Jamestown, determined to rescue him if he were not freed. Berkeley later proffered that when Bacon learned that "an incredible Number of the meanest of the People were everywhere Armed to assist him and his cause," he was spurred to action (Washburn 1957:51-52; Berkeley, July 1, 1676).

²⁸ Local magistrates who questioned the legality of Bacon's

Finally, after some of Gloucester County's inhabitants asked Berkeley for protection against the Indians and questioned the legality of Bacon's pressing men and supplies, the governor was spurred to action. Although he went to Gloucester and attempted to raise troops, he met with little success, for the county's yeomen were reluctant to oppose Bacon, whom they perceived as their defender against the Indians. Governor Berkeley and some of his followers, suddenly cognizant of their own vulnerability, withdrew to Northampton County, where they took up residence at Arlington, the plantation of John Custis.²⁹ Meanwhile, Bacon, upon learning that Berkeley had been unsuccessful in recruiting troops in Gloucester, set out for Middle Plantation.³⁰ When he arrived on July 29th, he made Captain Ortho Thorpe's house his headquarters (Carson 1976:8; Washburn 1957:18-19, 69-72).

Nathaniel Bacon issued a "Declaration of the People," a treatise that leveled charges against Governor William Berkeley, and a "Manifesto" that justified his own actions. He then had his men seize three ships that were anchored in the James River and dispatched them to the Eastern Shore to confront Berkeley in his place of refuge. Bacon rallied support for a march against

actions reportedly were threatened "with plundering and pulling down their houses" (Washburn 1957:69).

²⁹ In June 1676 when Governor William Berkeley fled Jamestown, he reportedly was accompanied by ca. 40 loyalists "of the best quality," who brought their families with them (McIlwaine 1934:458; Washburn 1957:70). Custis, whose home was constructed in ca. 1676, was described in a local court record as a three story brick dwelling with garret windows (Parke Executors [1709]). As Benjamin Latrobe's ca. 1796 watercolor rendering of the Green Spring mansion depicts it as a three story brick dwelling with rows of garret windows, the possibility exists that Custis in constructing his dwelling was influenced by Berkeley's personal residence.

³⁰ In 1699 Middle Plantation was laid out into a town and renamed Williamsburg.

the Indians and set out to confront the Natives who lived on the fringes of the colony's frontiers. However, when he met with little success, he reversed his course. He vented his wrath upon Pamunkey Indians, a Tributary tribe that recently had signed a peace agreement with Governor Berkeley's government. Bacon and his men pursued the Pamunkeys into Dragon Swamp and then attacked. They reportedly plundered the Indians' goods, took prisoners and killed men, women and children indiscriminately. Meanwhile, in Bacon's absence, Governor Berkeley rallied his supporters and on September 7th returned to Jamestown. He offered a pardon to the 800 men Bacon had left garrisoned there and then reoccupied the capital city. Afterward, he had a palisade erected across the isthmus that connected Jamestown Island to the mainland and then awaited the confrontation he considered inevitable when Bacon and his rebels returned (Washburn 1957:72-76,80-81).

As Nathaniel Bacon's attack upon the Pamunkeys drew to a close, he learned that the men he had dispatched to the Eastern Shore to confront Governor Berkeley had fallen into his hands and that those he had left at Jamestown had surrendered. It was then that Bacon offered liberty to any slaves or bound servants who would join in the popular revolt. He set out upon the lengthy trek to Jamestown, displaying his Pamunkey captives along the way. On September 13th Bacon and his followers reached what one contemporary called Green Spring's old fields, where he paused and told them "that if ever they will fight they will do it now." Later in the day, the rebels, weary from their march, arrived at the isthmus that led to Jamestown Island and encamped. Bacon advanced across the isthmus on horseback, approaching the defensive palisades Berkeley's men had built. He had one of his men sound a trumpet and then he discharged his carbine. He concluded that the palisade was strong and that he would have to lure the governor out of his protective lines. As Bacon's men's

provisions were in short supply, he dispatched some of them to Green Spring, so that they could raid the governor's larder and take his livestock. Bacon had his followers dig a deep ditch, parallel to Berkeley's palisade, and then fill it with trees and brush. He also had them erect an earthwork flanking the ditch. He took into custody the wives of several loyalist leaders,³¹ and placed them upon the ramparts of the trench his men were digging and he put his Pamunkey captives on display to demonstrate his success as an Indian fighter. On September 14th, Berkeley's loyalists made a sally against Bacon's men, but the rebels' gunfire was so intense that they fled behind the lines of their palisade.³² As Bacon had procured two cannon, he commenced bombarding Jamestown. Several of Berkeley's supporters lost their lives defending Jamestown. Others, who became dispirited or had ambivalent feelings, urged him to abandon the capital city.³³ Reluctantly, Berkeley boarded the ship that transported him to safety on the Eastern Shore. On September 19, 1676, Bacon entered Jamestown, which he had his men put to the torch.³⁴ One eyewitness reported that Berkeley's men, when retreating to safety, "saw with shame by night the flames of the town which they had so basely forsaken." However, some of Bacon's followers were disturbed by the destruction of the

³¹ Bacon sent out small parties of horsemen to seize these women.

³² One eyewitness said that Berkeley's supporters were "like scholars goeing to schoole [who] went out with hevie harts but returned home with light heeles."

³³ Some of the people in Jamestown were former supporters of Bacon who had been pardoned by Berkeley only a short time earlier.

³⁴ One official account indicates that Jamestown, at the time it was burned, contained 12 new brick houses, a number of frame dwellings with brick chimneys, the state house and the parish church (Neville 1976:310; Wiseman Book of Record).

capital city and the colony's state house. This probably made them question their young leader's judgement and ponder what would happen if Berkeley regained the upper hand (Washburn 1957:80-83; Neville 1976:309-310; Wiseman Book of Record; Andrews 1967:130-131).

The next day, Nathaniel Bacon went to Green Spring. He drafted a protest against Governor Berkeley, which he asked his supporters to sign. However, many of his men wanted action instead of words, for they were brimming over with confidence and spoiling for a fight. At that juncture, they commenced plundering the estates of those who had remained loyal to Governor Berkeley.³⁵ Although Bacon attempted to bring his followers under control, he met with little success, for his men had turned into an unruly mob that made little distinction between friend and foe. On October 26, 1676, the popular uprising literally was dealt a mortal blow, for Nathaniel Bacon died of natural causes while at the home of Colonel Thomas Pate of Gloucester County.³⁶ Bacon's successor, Joseph Ingram,³⁷ was

³⁵ Colonel Edward Hill II of Shirley claimed that "my house was plundered of all I had, my sheep all destroyed, wheat, barley, oates and Indian graine, to the quantity of seven or eight hundred bushels and to compleat theire jollity [they] drew my brandy, butts of wyne and syder by payles full, and to ever health, instead of burning their powder, burnt my writings, bills, bonds, accounts. . . and to finish theire barbarism, take my wife bigg with child prisoner, beat her with my cane, tare [tear] her childbed linen out of her hands, and with her, ledd away my Children where they must live on corne and water and lye on the ground, had it not been for the charity of good people (Washburn 1957:84-85).

³⁶ Bacon succumbed to the bloody flux and a "lousey disease, so that the swarmes of vermyn that bred in his body he culd not destroy but by throwing his shirts into the fire." Governor Berkeley proffered that Bacon was felled by the hand of Providence, for "his usual oath . . . was God damme my Blood and god so infected his blood that it bred lice in an incredible number . . . To this God added the Bloody flux and an honest

an uninspiring leader, for he lacked Bacon's charisma and sense of purpose. Abandoning Bacon's confrontational style, Ingram divided the men into small groups that withdrew into the countryside, particularly in the upper reaches of the York River. There, they fortified themselves against assault (Washburn 1957:84-85).

Governor William Berkeley's men seized the opportunity to quell the uprising and during November and December, many of the rebel leaders were hunted down and captured in their strongholds.³⁸ At Green Spring, approximately 100 men and boys under the command of Captain Drew were holed up in the governor's house. Drew had resolved "to keep the place in spite of all opposition." To help him "better keepe his promise he caused all the Avenues and approaches to the same to be Baracado'd up, and 3 grate Guns planted to beat of [off] the Assailants." One contemporary writer said that Drew was a miller who was heavily indebted to Governor Berkeley. Therefore, he was considered "most likely to keepe him out of his owne Howse." Drew, having made Green Spring "the strongest place in the Country what with grate and small Gunns," stood "upon his gard and refuseth to Surrender, but upon his own terms." Berkeley's men reportedly

Minister wrote this Epitaph on him: Bacon is Dead I am sorry at my hart That lice and flux should take the hangmans part" (Washburn 1957:85).

³⁷ One eyewitness to Bacon's Rebellion said of Ingram, "The Lion had no sooner made his exitt, but the Ape (by indubitable right) steps upon the stage" and claimed that he was an utter fool. Another writer said that "the Titmouse . . . was becom an Elliphant" (Washburn 1957:85; Andrews 1967:92).

³⁸ Lady Frances Berkeley, who had gone to England, returned to the colony around this time (Wiseman Book of Record; Neville 1976:241).

agreed to those demands and left Green Spring in Drew's hands "til such time as Sir William should, in parson [sic], come and take possession" (Carson 1976:10; Andrews 1967:86,95).

On January 11 and 12, 1677, four rebel leaders were brought before Governor William Berkeley and the Council of State and tried in a court martial hearing held aboard a ship anchored in the York River. All four of the accused were convicted and sentenced to hang. On January 16th, the rebel commander Joseph Ingram surrendered in his stronghold at West Point. Four days later, court martial proceedings were held at the home of James Bray, where two more rebel leaders were tried, convicted and sentenced to death. When Governor William Berkeley returned to Jamestown on January 22nd, he discovered that the capital city lay in ruins. He then withdrew to Green Spring, where he found that his plantation "much spoilt and plundered in his absence" (Hening 1809-1823:II:545-547;III:569; Carson 1976:10; Washburn 1957:84-91; Neville 1976:313,323; Wiseman Book of Record).

On January 24, 1677 several of Bacon's followers were hauled before a military tribunal held at Green Spring, then the interim seat of government. According to Governor Berkeley's own account, James Crewes, William Cookson, and John Digby (a former servant who had been a captain in Bacon's army), were convicted of treason and rebellion against the king, sentenced to death, and hanged. The minutes of the court martial proceedings reveal that it was upon the accusation of James Crewes that Cookson and Digby were tried and condemned, as were William Rookings, William West, and John Turner. Henry West also was found guilty of treason and rebellion, but because "he hath not been so notorious as the rest," he was banished from Virginia for seven years instead of being hanged (Hening 1809-1823:II:547-548;III:569). Mrs. Ann Cotton wrote her husband, who was then in England, that in "an Assembly conven'd at the Green Spring . . . severall were condemned to be executed, prime actors in ye Rebellion, as

Esqr. [Giles] Bland, Coll. Cruse [Crewes], and some others [were] hanged at Bacon's Trench" (Washburn 1957:84-91; Force 1963 :I:9:10;10:4). ³⁹ On January 24th, Berkeley ordered his men to confiscate and bring the personal estate of certain suspected rebels to Green Spring. ⁴⁰ Later, some of these individuals and/or their heirs claimed that their belongings had been confiscated illegally (Neville 1976:61,93; C.O. 1/39 ff 66-67; Hening 1809-1823:II:548-558). ⁴¹

On January 29th, Sir John Berry and Francis Moryson, two of the three commissioners King Charles II dispatched to investigate the causes and progress of Bacon's Rebellion, arrived in Virginia with 1,000 royal troops and orders for Governor Berkeley's recall. ⁴² Herbert Jeffreys arrived shortly thereafter. The

³⁹ It is uncertain how many of the 14 men, who between January and March 1677 were sentenced to death at Green Spring, were executed on the premises. Mrs. Ann Cotton's account indicates that some were removed to Bacon's Trench and hanged. In July 1677 two of the king's commissioners reported that a total of 23 men had been executed, eight of whose trials they had attended (Wiseman Book of Record; Neville 1976:315).

⁴⁰ Later, Henry Jenkins, a James City County tanner, alleged that the governor's men had seized 22 head of his cattle without just cause and he claimed that he had preserved some of the rawhides Bacon's men had stolen from Green Spring. Jenkins also claimed that Bacon's supporters had confiscated 45-46 pair of shoes that he had made. William Hunt's widow said that the governor's agents had carried her late husband's moveable estate to Green Spring and that he had not participated in the rebellion (Wiseman Book of Record; Neville 1976:368,372).

⁴¹ One such person was Sarah, the widow of William Drummond, who had been hanged by Berkeley. She alleged that in June and July 1677, Lady Frances Berkeley's servants had confiscated her tobacco and corn crops and broken down her plantation's fences (C.O. 1/42 f 291; Neville 1976:90). The Drummonds had a leasehold in the Governor's Land.

⁴² The ratio between the king's soldiers and the colonists was 1:40, for Virginia's population then numbered ca. 40,000 persons. Providing food and shelter for these men was financially

commissioners quickly discovered that the state house and Jamestown had been destroyed. They also learned that Nathaniel Bacon was dead, the rebellion had been quelled, and that the countryside was desolate. As the governor's house, Green Spring, was "very much ruined by the rebels," they were obliged to seek other accommodations.⁴³ Governor Berkeley claimed that his financial losses were massive, for his

. . . houses [were] burnt in James City, his dwelling house at Green Spring almost ruined, his household goods and others of great value totally plundered; . . . that he had not a bed to lye on, [and] two great beasts, three hundred sheep, seventy horses and mares, all his corn and provisions [had been] taken away [Stanard 1899:143].

Berkeley said that he had "lost at least Eight thousand pounds Sterling in houses, goods, plantation servants and cattle and never looke to be restored to a Quarter of it. But unlesse some part of it be restored I must Begg or starve" (Washburn 1957:107; C.O. 1/39 f 52; Wiseman Book of Record; Neville 1976:60,255). Lady Frances Berkeley later informed a cousin in England that "the house it looked like one of those the boys pull down at Shrovetide, & was almost as much to repair as if it had beene new to build, & noe signe that ever there had beene a fence about it" (Washburn 1957:102).⁴⁴

burdensome for the colonists (Washburn 1957:99).

⁴³ They stayed at Swann's Point, the home of Colonel Thomas Swann. Swann, though a member of the Governor's Council, was a signatory to Bacon's declaration, which charged Berkeley with malfeasance. His son, Samuel, was married to the daughter of William Drummond, who had been executed for his role in the rebellion (Washburn 1957:74,217-218). One of Colonel Swann's detractors, who dubbed him "ye great Toad," claimed that during Bacon's Rebellion he "did sitt in ye council of war for burneing ye town" and then went to Jamestown to join Bacon (Tyler 1902:81).

⁴⁴ This document, which is dated June 27, 1678, reveals that the house was restored to livable condition within 18 months of the

On January 30, 1677, the day after the king's commissioners arrived in Virginia, Governor Berkeley promised them that despite Green Spring's ruinous condition, he would "use all means and diligence possible to the buildinge of houses, and makinge provisions for the receivinge on shore as well those on board also the rest of his Maj. forces not yett arrived" (Admiralty 51/134i; Neville 1976:23). But as the days wore on, the written dialogue between Berkeley and the king's commissioners became increasingly terse. On February 13th the commissioners warned Berkeley that his servants' alleged seizure of various people's goods (if true) would incur the disfavor of the king. Berkeley responded that if such seizures had indeed occurred, they were without his knowledge or consent. He also said almost all of his neighbors had pilfered his goods, which were "still to be seen in their houses." He added that they had been willing to spare him some corn and hogs in lieu of what they stole. He indicated that he was keeping at least 30 prisoners in his house under a guard of 50 men, and that for the past month he had had to rely upon the charity of people who knew that he "had not a cow or a grain of corn left" (Neville 1976:254).

On February 14th, the king's commissioners sent a message to Governor Berkeley, asking him to provide storehouses for the royal troops' food and ammunition and carts, plus draft animals to transport them. He replied that thanks to the rebels' plundering, he had "but one Oxe" and that the six he had borrowed were needed "to Bring wood and Victuals for two hundred men which I have now in my house."⁴⁵ He said that he "must feed them al [sic] and God knowes the Rebels left me not one graine of Corne

time it was damaged and that the repairs were costly and extensive.

⁴⁵ It is likely that some of these individuals were lodged in the main house and its outbuildings and in shelters erected upon its grounds.

nor one Cow to feed me." In closing, he said, "If you send me word it is lawful for me to presse oxen or Horses for his Majesty's service, having none of my owne, I wil immediately doe it" (Washburn 1957:105-106; Wiseman Book of Record; Neville 1976:256). Later in the day, the commissioners forwarded Berkeley's letters to England.

On February 20, 1677, the assembly convened at Green Spring. Twenty acts were passed, four of which pertained to Bacon's Rebellion. A free pardon was extended to all but the 23 men who already had been executed.⁴⁶ More lenient penalties, such as fines, were established as punishment for participants in the recent rebellion. The real and personal estate of those executed for treason was to be confiscated. However, plundered goods were to be restored to their rightful owners and those who had suffered losses in the rebellion were given the legal right to sue for damages. The burgesses nullified the legislation that Nathaniel Bacon and his men had forced upon them at gunpoint in June 1676, and they set aside two official holy days: May 4th, a fast day in penitence for the late rebellion, and August 22nd, a day of thanksgiving to commemorate the colony's deliverance from the rebellion. Later in the year, the Privy Council disallowed three of the laws enacted during the February session of the assembly: the ones that pertained to free pardon and indemnity, punishment and attainder (Hening 1809-1823:II:366-406; Neville 1976:60,62-63,116-117; C.O. 1/39 ff 72-81; 5/1355 ff 156-164).⁴⁷

⁴⁶ William West and John Turner, who had been tried and condemned to death, escaped from jail and avoided execution. One man reportedly had died in jail, another had been found guilty but was not sentenced to death, and three others had fled before standing trial.

⁴⁷ William Sherwood, who alternately praised and criticized the governor, later commented that Berkeley was as much to blame for the uprising as anyone else, for "he gave the Commission to

The longer the king's commissioners stayed in the colony, the more cantankerous and uncooperative they found Governor Berkeley.⁴⁸ In March 1677, several former ringleaders of the popular uprising were tried in civil tribunals that were held at Green Spring on March 1st, 3rd, 8th, 9th, 10th, 15th, 16th, and 22nd (Hening 1809-1823:II 550-557).⁴⁹ Although some of those convicted were fined or subjected to other forms of non-corporal punishment (such as public humiliation or banishment), nine men were sentenced to hang (Hening 1809-1823:II:548-558).⁵⁰ On March 25th Colonel Francis Moryson, one of the king's commissioners and a man Berkeley had befriended when he first came to Virginia, asked Lady Frances Berkeley to intercede with the governor on behalf of a man named Jones, who was accused of rebellion. She replied that she "would rather have worn the canvas the Rebels threatened to make her glad of, than have had the fatal occasion of interceding for mercy." She added, however, that the governor would pardon Jones simply because Moryson had requested it (Neville 1976:276; Wiseman Book of

Bacon, permitted the whole Country to assist and arme him and never contradicted his proceedings" (Neville 1976:71).

⁴⁸ On the other hand, Wilcomb Washburn noted that the commissioners, instead of serving as assistants to the governor (as they were supposed to), told Berkeley how to run his government (Washburn 1957:100-101).

⁴⁹ The commissioners later reported that 23 men had been hanged and that all who were tried were found guilty. As almost all of those who stood trial were sentenced to death, some people who were accused of involvement in the rebellion elected to pay an arbitrary fine rather than risk being tried (Neville 1976:315).

⁵⁰ The condemned men were Giles Bland, Robert Jones, Anthony Arnold, Richard Farmar, Robert Stoakes, John Isles, Richard Pomfrey, John Whitson, and William Scarborough (Hening 1809-1823:II:548-558).

Record). ⁵¹

On April 22, 1677, immediately prior to Sir William Berkeley's departure for England, the commissioners experienced what they considered a major social affront. When the governor's coach transported them from Green Spring to Jamestown, the common hangman served as its postilion. The outraged commissioners sent word to Berkeley that they considered the incident "an insult to the Kings Great Seal and to the private persons of the Commissioners as gentlemen" and stated that were going to report the affront to the monarch, personally. Berkeley replied that he was unaware that the hangman was a member of his household and that he was as "innocent in this as the blessed Angels themselves." He told the commissioners that he had sent them his slave "to be racked, tortured or whipt till he confesses how this dire misfortune happened" (Neville 1976:71; C.O. 1/40 f 62; Stanard 1913:370). Lady Frances Berkeley also claimed that she knew nothing of the matter and said that she was sending the coachman to them for examination (Neville 1976:71-72; Washburn 1957:98-99,131; C.O. 1/40 f 63; Stanard 1925:352). The commissioners insisted, however, that "My Lady went into her Chamber and peeped through a broken quarrel of glass to see how the show looked" as they departed in the coach driven by the common hangman. They concluded that "the whole case looks more like a woman's than a man's malice" (Neville 1976:73).

After Governor William Berkeley set sail for England, some of his more ardent supporters stoutly resisted the policies of Lt. Governor Herbert Jeffries, who legally assumed the reins of government. ⁵² William Sherwood, who lived in urban Jamestown,

⁵¹ If the accused man was Robert Jones, he was sentenced to death on March 15 (Hening 1809-1823:II:550).

⁵² Jeffries was one of the commissioners sent to investigate the rebellion.

named as Berkeley's principal supporters those he dubbed as "Green Spring Faction:" Lady Frances Berkeley, Philip Ludwell I, Thomas Ballard, Edward Hill II, and Robert Beverley I (Neville 1976:90). ⁵³ Although Jeffreys continued bringing accused rebels before the General Court, he had a much more lenient attitude toward convicted offenders and no more death sentences were handed down (Hening 1809-1823:II:557-558). On August 2, 1677, Lady Frances Berkeley sent a letter to Sir William, who was still in England, that "As soon as your back was turned, the Lieut. Governor [Jeffreys] said he would lay 100 L that you would not be permitted to see the King, but would be sent to the Tower." By the time Lady Berkeley's letter reached England, her husband was dead (Hening 1809-1823:II:558; Stanard 1925:352).

Sir William Berkeley's will was presented for probate on November 22, 1678. He had designated Lady Frances as his executrix and described her as his "deare and most virtuous wife." He bestowed upon her and her legal heirs "all my lands, houses, and tenements, whatsoever," stating that "if God had blest me with a far greater estate, I would have given it all to my Most Dearly beloved wife." He bequeathed 100 pounds sterling to Mrs. Jane Davies upon the condition that his widow was left at least 3,000 pounds sterling left to maintain herself in the style to which she was accustomed. He also left the sheriff's wife, Mrs. Sarah Kirkman, "so virtuous a good woman," money to buy a ring and he set aside for his cousin, Francilia, funds to purchase her wedding garments. Berkeley's will was witnessed by

⁵³ Beverley was said to have been "that evil instrument that fomented evil humours between the two Governors [Berkeley and Jeffreys] when they were both in Virginia" and was quoted as having said that he had not plundered enough and that the rebellion had ended too soon for his purpose (Neville 1976:380). Ludwell, on the other hand, said Jeffreys was a worse rebel than Bacon and heaped other insults upon him (Tyler 1911:210).

several of his supporters: Nathaniel Bacon (uncle of the rebel), Thomas Ballard, William Cole, Joseph Bridger, Robert Beverley I, and Philip Ludwell I (Hening 1809-1823:II:558-560; McIlwaine 1934:494,519). Under the terms of Sir William Berkeley's will, his widow succeeded him as a proprietor of Carolina (Stanard 1925:352).⁵⁴

After Sir William Berkeley's death, Sarah Drummond, whose husband was executed for his role in Bacon's Rebellion, sued Lady Frances Berkeley for having her servants seize a substantial quantity of corn from her farm in the Governor's Land.⁵⁵ Lady Berkeley, as defendant, responded that she was entitled to the corn, in light of the labor she had bestowed upon the Drummond plantation. In 1809, when W. W. Hening, examined General Court documents that no longer are extant, he noted that records of the suit of Drummond vs. Berkeley shed much light upon certain events that occurred during Bacon's Rebellion. Hening also stated that the General Court decided the case in favor of the plaintiff, Mrs. Sarah Drummond (Hening 1809-1823:II:558; McIlwaine 1934:521).

So considerable was the damage to Green Spring, as a result of the plantation's being occupied by Bacon's men and the king's troops, that in June 1678 Lady Frances Berkeley wrote her cousin that

. . . it has cost above L 300 to make it habitable, & if I had not bestowed that money upon it, the Plantation had not beene worth L 100, & as it is I thinke the finest seat in America & the only tolerable place for a Governour, & from thence I draw my hopes of cominge to live in England, for I doe hope to gett a pension of L 200 a year for it dureing my

⁵⁴ Through a peculiar turn of events, she had the good fortune to sell her interest in Carolina twice: in 1682 and again in 1684 (Stanard 1925:352).

⁵⁵ William Drummond I was leasing 234 acres near Jamestown. He, like Berkeley, had been a proprietor of Carolina and in that capacity had clashed with Berkeley prior to Bacon's Rebellion.

life, & soe to remaine the Countrie's home forever, & if this faile I will set up to lead a poore Virginia life [Berkeley 1678].

Thus, by early summer 1678 Lady Berkeley had restored the Green Spring mansion to what she considered liveable condition, in hopes that she could rent it to Virginia's future governors, earning enough income to live comfortably in England.⁵⁶ In 1680, however, she married Secretary of the Colony Philip Ludwell I of Rich Neck. As Frances and William Berkeley produced no children and she was his primary heir, it was at Lady Frances's death in 1691 that Green Spring descended into the hands of the Ludwell family (Hening 1809-1823:II:559; Stanard 1925:352).⁵⁷ In 1683 Philip Ludwell I and Lady Frances Berkeley disposed of some of her late husband's property, at which time a deed was entered into the records of the General Court. However, due to the destruction of the volume in which the deed was entered, it is uncertain what acreage they sold (McIlwaine 1934:523). Documents among the Virginia Historical Society's Lee Papers

⁵⁶ Governor William Berkeley, when describing in monetary terms the damage his real and personal property sustained during Bacon's Rebellion, estimated that his losses totalled L 8,000 (Washburn 1957:107). Thus, if it took only L 300 to render the Green Spring mansion liveable, it appears that the dwelling itself suffered relatively little damage. Among the property owners who sought compensation for damages were several individuals whose losses were in the hundreds of pounds and some people's losses ran as high as 1,000 to 1,500 pounds sterling. For example, William Sherwood, whose stepson's house in Jamestown was burned by the rebels, estimated that he had lost 1,000 pounds (C.O. 1/40 ff 186-187). When viewed in light of these contemporary estimates, Lady Berkeley's expenditure of L 300 on the Green Spring dwelling suggests that the damage it sustained was serious but not devastating.

⁵⁷ Hening, in 1809, noted that a deed from Ludwell and his new wife identified her as "Dame Frances Berkeley" (Hening 1809-1823:II:559). Thus, she elected to remain publicly linked with her late husband.

suggest that some of Lady Berkeley's property was in the hands of tenants or sharecroppers. On October 31, 1679, she had a 285 acre parcel surveyed. The tract, which comprised the southeast corner of her Hot Water Dividend, abutted east upon the Long Meadow (now Long Hill) Branch and extended west across the road to Jamestown. Shown prominently was the Iron Mine Hill Meadow, a branch of Powhatan Creek that forked a short distance east of modern-day James River Baptist Church. South of the 285 acres was the plantation of John Newby, probably one of Lady Berkeley's lessees. Also shown was acreage in the possession of Colonels Page and Holt and Robert Wetherell (Soane 1679).

In 1681, when Thomas Lord Culpeper arrived in Virginia to assume the governorship, he used Green Spring as his personal residence and said that it was "the nearest convenient habitation" (Stanard 1903-1904:398; McIlwaine 1934:493). Culpeper also occasionally conducted official business there, for the Council convened at Green Spring in May 1683 (Hening 1809-1823:III:561). Contained in Culpeper's instructions from the king was disapproval of the laws the burgesses had enacted in February 1677 (Stanard 1920:46).⁵⁸

In 1684, when Francis Howard, Lord Effingham, arrived in Virginia to take over the reins of government, he rented the Green Spring plantation from Lady Frances Berkeley and her new husband, Philip Ludwell, I. Howard's residency at Green Spring was marked by tragedy, for in October 1686 a French visitor to Virginia indicated that "last summer during two months of the hot weather, the Governor lost his lady, two pages and five or six other servants and in consequence had removed his residence to

⁵⁸ Herbert Jeffreys had died while in office and Sir Henry Chicheley, as lieutenant governor, served until Culpeper arrived in the colony. Culpeper, who was irritated by Chicheley's cautious attitude, described him as "that Lump, that Mass of Dullness, that worse than Nothing" (Billings et al. 1986:103).

the house of Mr. Wormeley in Middlesex" (Stanard 1928:100).⁵⁹

During the years Governors Culpeper and Howard successively occupied Green Spring, the colony's assembly met there several times. In August 1680 Culpeper conducted governmental proceedings at Green Spring and in February 1682 the Council and the House of Burgesses convened there. On May 10, 1682, Robert Beverley I (one of Sir William Berkeley's most ardent supporters) was summoned to appear before Governor Culpeper at Green Spring (Hening 1809-1823:III:561; Stanard 1910:253; 1929:160). During 1683, the Governor's Council convened at Green Spring from time to time and much later, during the administration of Francis Nicholson, the assembly met there after the statehouse burned (Carson 1954:6; Bruce 1893-1894:113,116; 1896:229; Stanard 1913:319).

In 1683 when John Soane, James City County's official surveyor, prepared a plat of the Governor's Land, he showed the smaller parcels into which it had been subdivided. He also depicted the locations of 16 dwellings that were on those subunits and noted to whom various parcels had been leased (Soane 1683). Soane sketched in the Green Spring mansion, schematically indicating that it was an irregularly shaped, multi-component structure and that one of its units had an arcade.⁶⁰ He

⁵⁹ The Howard household moved to Rosegill plantation, near what eventually became the town of Urbanna.

⁶⁰ Archaeologist Louis R. Caywood hypothesized that the right-hand component of the mansion complex, as portrayed by Soane, was the older part of the building. He concluded that it was unlikely that Lady Frances Berkeley, who spent L 300 on the Green Spring mansion in readying it for rental to a tenant, would have substantially increased its size or made elaborate architectural improvements. He speculated that the manor house may have been enlarged by Sir William Berkeley around the time he married Frances Culpeper Stephens (Caywood 1955:10-12). A sketch of the mansion, made by Benjamin Latrobe in 1796-1797, also shows the arcade.

positioned the mansion just beyond the northwestern corner of the Governor's Land tract, at the terminus of the road that extended westward from Jamestown Island across the Governor's Land. Natural geographical features formed virtually all of the Governor's Land's boundary lines (the James River, Deep Creek and Powhatan Swamp), with the exception of a short ditch located in the northwestern part of the property, connecting the headwaters of Deep Creek with a branch of Powhatan Swamp. In ca. 1770, when a survey was made of the Green Spring tract, the course of this ancient boundary was portrayed similarly (see ahead).

At the time John Soane made a plat depicting the Governor's Land, a lessee named Thomas Easter was in possession of plot number 15, 100 acres upon which three houses stood. Two of these three structures were located within acreage that later became part of Green Spring (Soane 1683). It is uncertain which of the three buildings served as Easter's dwelling, if indeed he resided upon the acreage he was renting; however, the placement of his tract's number by one particular house (designated 44JC100 in the state's official inventory of archaeological sites) raises the possibility that it was his home (Soane 1683).⁶¹ No other information about Easter has come to light. He probably was a tenant of Sir William Berkeley or his widow, Lady Frances, and her new husband, Philip Ludwell I, for they successively held a 99 year lease to 70 acres of the Governor's Land that lay contiguous to Green Spring. Easter may have been a new immigrant or landless freedman who was unable to purchase land of his own and therefore secured a leasehold.

⁶¹ By 1794 44JC100 and neighboring 44JC99 were included within the bounds of Green Spring plantation, which William Lee expanded by purchasing part of the Governor's Land. This acreage on the east side of Deep Creek gave him frontage upon the James River. No structural features were in evidence at 44JC99 and 44JC100 in 1781 when Jean-Nicholas Desandrouin (1781), a military cartographer, mapped the area.

In 1716 when Green Spring's title was defended by Sir Robert Raymond in order to substantiate Philip Ludwell II's claim to the plantation, it was noted that the Governor's Land tract abutted "upon A broad river which is dayly gaining upon the Bank & we can prove hath wash't away about 100 acres within 30 years & must have done much more." Raymond noted that surveys of the Green Spring and Governor's Land tracts, prepared in 1646, could not be found. He also indicated that the Governor's Land had natural boundaries on three sides and that the fourth, which was then in dispute, almost fell into that category. He stated that the common boundary between the Governor's Land and Green Spring, which comprised part of the low-lying land of Powhatan Swamp, though "formerly impassable in most places, hath been drained by Sir William Berkeley and Coll. Ludwell who claimed Green Spring under Sir William Berkeley" (Bruce 1897-1898:386).⁶²

PHILIP LUDWELL I

Philip Ludwell I, whose marriage to Lady Frances Berkeley ultimately gave him possession of Green Spring, was a native of Bruton in Somerset County, England. He immigrated to Virginia in ca. 1661, where he joined his brother, Thomas, the colony's secretary of state and an ardent supporter of Governor William Berkeley.⁶³ In 1667, the same year Philip Ludwell I was made a

⁶² A number of individuals who played an important role in seventeenth century politics reportedly were interred at Green Spring but later removed elsewhere. They included Sir Thomas Ludwell and Sir Thomas Lunsford, whose tombstones later were moved to Bruton Parish Church's graveyard. Monuments also were erected at Green Spring commemorating the political accomplishments of Richard Kemp and Thomas Ludwell, who served as Secretary of the Colony (Tyler 1899-1900:185).

⁶³ Thomas Ludwell was Secretary from 1661 to 1678.

captain of the James City County militia, he married a wealthy widow, Lucy Higginson Burwell Bernard, daughter of Captain Robert Higginson and successively the relict of Major Lewis Burwell II and Colonel William Bernard. Lucy and Philip Ludwell I resided at Fairfield, the Burwell home on Carter's Creek in Gloucester County, where they were living in 1672 when their a son, Philip Ludwell II, was born. The couple's daughter, Jane, married Colonel Daniel Parke, who became governor of the Leeward Islands. Between 1673 and 1675, Lewis Burwell III (Lucy's son by her first husband) came of age and most likely took possession of Fairfield, for Lucy died and young Burwell (his father's sole heir) married for the first time. It was likely then that Philip Ludwell I vacated Fairfield and moved into his brother's home, Rich Neck, which had been owned in succession by George Menefie and Richard Kemp (Meyer et al. 1987:118,145,526; Morton 1956:237-238; Shepperson 1942:453; Bruce 1893-1894:175; Stanard 1965:21,40; Nugent 1969-1979:I:24; Parks 1982:225).⁶⁴

During the mid-1670s Philip Ludwell I assumed an increasingly prominent role in public life. In November 1674, when Thomas Ludwell prepared to set sail for England, he authorized his brother, Philip I, to serve as deputy secretary of the colony during his absence (McIlwaine 1934:396,403).⁶⁵ In 1675 Philip Ludwell I was named to the Governor's Council, which position he retained until 1677 when Governor William Berkeley yielded his office to Lt. Governor Herbert Jeffreys. The Ludwell brothers were two of Berkeley's most loyal supporters throughout

⁶⁴ Rich Neck plantation abutted Archers Hope (College) Creek and the main road from Jamestown to Middle Plantation (Williamsburg). The site of Rich Neck's manor house, which has been designated 44WB52 in the state's official inventory of archaeological sites, is located in the Holly Hills subdivision (Virginia Department of Historic Resources 1988).

⁶⁵ Thomas Ludwell died in 1678 and left Rich Neck to Philip Ludwell I (Withington 1980:167).

Bacon's Rebellion and its turbulent aftermath (Meyer et al. 1987:118,145,526; Morton 1956:237-238; Shepperson 1942:453; Bruce 1893-1894:175; Stanard 1965:21,40).

One man who ran afoul of the Ludwell brothers was Giles Bland, who shortly after his arrival in the colony became embroiled in a bitter personal dispute with Thomas Ludwell. Bland, in a fit of anger, nailed Ludwell's glove to the door of the statehouse at Jamestown, allegedly declared that "the Owner of that glove was a son of a whore, [a] mechanic fellow, puppy and coward," and challenged him to a duel. At the end of Bacon's Rebellion, Thomas Ludwell's brother, Philip, had the pleasure of avenging this insult, for it was he who captured Giles Bland and brought him before Governor Berkeley, whose military tribunal sentenced him to hang (Shepperson 1942:8-9; Stanard 1910:5). The high level of confidence Governor William Berkeley and the assembly had in Philip Ludwell I is evidenced by his being given temporary custody of the General Court's records and those of the Secretary's Office, after Nathaniel Bacon's followers torched the statehouse at Jamestown (Hening 1809-1823:II:404).⁶⁶

After Governor William Berkeley relinquished the governorship and departed for England, Philip Ludwell I led the loyalist opposition (or Green Spring faction) against Lt. Governor Herbert Jeffreys.⁶⁷ On one occasion, Ludwell, who was known for his "rash and fiery temper," consumed "part of a Flagon of Syder" and while in his cups, accused Jeffreys of perjury and claimed that he was a "worse rebel than Bacon." He also declared

⁶⁶ These records, which were taken to Rich Neck, were of critical importance to everyone who owned property in Virginia, for they included all of the colony's land patents, appellate cases and those that predated the formation of county government.

⁶⁷ In 1678-1679 Philip Ludwell I's son-in-law, Colonel Daniel Parke, was the colony's secretary of state (Stanard 1965:21).

that Jeffreys "was not worth a groat in England, and that if every pitiful little fellow with a periwig that came in governor to this country had liberty to make laws, [neither] his children nor no man's else could be safe in title or estate left them." Ludwell's tirade cost him his seat on the Governor's Council and he received a formal rebuke and a fine of 500 pounds sterling. Although he eventually was restored to the Council, thanks to the support of his fellow members, he later clashed with Jeffreys' successor, Francis Lord Howard, and again lost his seat (Shepperson 1942:8-9; Tyler 1911:210; Stanard 1910:5).

In October 1680, three years after Sir William Berkeley died, his widow, Lady Frances, married Philip Ludwell I and moved to his home at Rich Neck.⁶⁸ After the couple's marriage, they implemented Lady Frances's plan of renting Green Spring to Virginia's incumbent governors. The Green Spring mansion was occupied by Frances's cousin, Thomas Lord Culpeper, who served as governor from 1680 to 1683 and it was rented to Francis Lord Howard, who held the governorship between 1684 and 1689 (Stanard 1965:17).⁶⁹ Philip Ludwell I was re-appointed to the governor's council in 1681, during the administration of Thomas Culpeper, although he lost his seat in 1686 while Francis Lord Howard was in office. In 1686 the naturalist John Clayton visited the Green Spring plantation and described the free-flowing waters for which the tract was named. He said that the spring's water was "so very cold that 'tis dangerous drinking thereof in Summer-time, it having proved of fatal Consequence to several." He also stated

⁶⁸ Ludwell was her third and final husband.

⁶⁹ Neither man was in Virginia throughout his term in office. Coincidentally, when Governor Howard expelled Philip Ludwell I from his council, Ludwell's wife, Lady Frances Berkeley, was his landlady.

that according to local informants, Sir William Berkeley had had among his herd of livestock an elk that had been presented to him as a gift (Force 1963:III:12:13,35).

As Lady Frances Berkeley was one of Carolina's Lords Proprietors, she probably was instrumental in her husband's being designated governor in 1689, which office he held until 1694. Philip Ludwell I also served as a member of Virginia's assembly in 1688 and later he was named to the College of William and Mary's first Board of Visitors. According to a letter written in July 1690 by William Byrd I, Lady Frances Berkeley was 56 years old and in good health. But within a year of the time he penned that comment, she died and was buried in the churchyard at Jamestown. Public records reveal that in 1691, while Lt. Governor Francis Nicholson was in office, the assembly convened in the Green Spring mansion. Although it is uncertain whether Governor Nicholson was then leasing the plantation, he may have continued the tradition established by his predecessors. In 1694, Philip Ludwell I retired to England. He died there in ca. 1710 and was buried at Stratford le Bow in Middlesex, England (Meyer et al. 1987:118, 145, 526, 528; Morton 1956:237-238; Shepperson 1942:453; Bruce 1893-1894:175; Stanard 1910:5; 1925:352; 1965:21,40,87).

PHILIP LUDWELL II

Philip Ludwell II was born at Fairfield in Gloucester County on February 4, 1672, only three years before the death of his mother, the former Lucy Higginson Burwell, and six or so years before his father, Philip Ludwell I, moved to Rich Neck plantation. Around 1693-1694, when Philip Ludwell II came of age and his father departed for England, he vacated the family home at Rich Neck and moved to Green Spring, which he used as his permanent seat. In 1697 young Philip married Hannah, the

daughter of Benjamin Harrison, a member of the Governor's Council. While Hannah Harrison and Philip Ludwell II resided at Green Spring, they produced three children: Hannah Philippa, Lucy, and Philip III. Hannah Philippa Ludwell married Thomas Lee of Stratford, president of the Council of State, and her sister, Lucy, married John Grymes II, also a member of the Council (Bruce 1899-1900:356; Morton 1956:238; Shepperson 1942:454). (see Appendix A)

Among the distinguished visitors entertained at Green Spring while the mansion was home to Philip Ludwell II and his wife, Hannah, were William Byrd II and his wife, Mary, of Westover Plantation in Charles City County. Byrd, an avid diarist, noted on April 23, 1709, that he had danced and indulged in much merriment at Green Spring. He returned to the Ludwell home the very next day, where he dined upon fish and asparagus. He said that on the afternoon of April 24th, he "took a walk and saw the carcasses of 50 cows which had been burnt in a house belonging to Colonel Ludwell." He also reported that "Mr. W-l-s ran two races and beat John Custis and Mr. Hawkins. He likewise jumped over the fence which was a very great jump" (Byrd 1941:25). On May 5, 1709, Byrd and his wife returned to Green Spring where he found William Edwards III and Nathaniel Harrison and his wife, with whom he shared supper.⁷⁰ The Byrds stayed on at Green Spring even after the departure of their host, who was obliged to go to Jamestown to attend the May 6th session of the Quarter Court. Although William Byrd and his wife typically commuted from Westover to Green Spring on horseback or by carriage, they sometimes traveled by boat and on at least one occasion, Byrd sent his boat down to Green Spring to fetch the Ludwells to Westover (Byrd 1941:67,85,90,99,111).

Although William Byrd II's diary makes reference to "Colonel

Ludwell's landing," it is uncertain whether that site was on Deep (Deep Bottom) Creek (which passes close to the Green Spring mansion), on nearby Powhatan Creek, or on acreage that Ludwell leased that abutted the James River.⁷¹ William Byrd II's diary reveals that the Ludwells' entertained a steady stream of visitors at Green Spring, some of whom continued on to Westover. In October 1709 the diarist reported that Colonel Ludwell, having attended the general muster, brought home two of his captains, with whom he and Byrd played a game of whist. Other entries in Byrd's diary make reference to visits to Green Spring during which he danced, played cards, ate fruit, drank canary wine and drams, flirted with the ladies, and "romped with the girls." Ludwell and Byrd corresponded frequently and dispatched messengers to carry their letters from one plantation to the other (Byrd 1941:90,92,169,187,194,242,337,377 524,534,542,572).

In March 1710 three of Philip Ludwell II's slaves were among several others in Surry, Isle of Wight and James City Counties who planned to make a break for freedom on Easter Sunday, vowing to overcome all opposition. But one of the conspirators revealed the plot, putting an end to it. Some of the slaves who were implicated were rounded up, interrogated, and jailed at Jamestown. Blacks belonging to Philip Ludwell II, Edward Jaquelin, George Marable II, Edward Ross, and John Broadnax were involved. Two of the would-be runaways were tried and executed in the hope that "their fate will strike a such a terror" that others would not attempt an escape. Philip Ludwell I reportedly wanted his people released from jail because "of ye danger of

⁷¹ During the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Green Spring plantation's acreage did not border directly upon the James River. By 1712, however, Philip Ludwell II was leasing a river front parcel near Jamestown that was in the southeastern corner of the Governor's Land tract (see ahead).

⁷⁰ Nathaniel was Hannah Ludwell's brother.

catching cold this sickly time" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:234-236; Stanard 1911:23-24).

Philip Ludwell II, like his father, took an active role in political life and held a variety of public offices. Like other members of Virginia's planter elite, Ludwell's complex network of social, familial and business connections assured him a place of political prominence. In 1696 he was elected to the assembly and later served as Speaker. In May 1702 he was named to the Governor's Council. In 1709 Ludwell (like William Byrd II) was commissioned to run the boundary line between Virginia and Carolina and for a time he served as Carolina's governor. In April 1710, Nicholas Blakiston, one of Philip Ludwell II's friends, urged him to invite the colony's newly appointed lieutenant governor, Alexander Spotswood, to Green Spring in order to curry his favor. Ludwell apparently acted upon the suggestion, for on June 1710 William Byrd II noted in his diary that he had chatted with Spotswood at Green Spring and enjoyed an abundance of company and good hospitality (Byrd 1941:194-195). Later, Blakiston congratulated Ludwell for having entertained Spotswood and reported that the new governor was flattered by "ye generous reception you gave him" (Bruce 1896-1897:17-18). Ludwell's attempts to cultivate Spotswood's friendship were handsomely repaid, for in 1710 the lieutenant governor appointed him the colony's deputy auditor-general. In July 1711 Philip Ludwell II invited Spotswood and his companions (who were then running the boundary line between Virginia and Carolina) to Green Spring. Ludwell also was on intimate terms with Robert "King" Carter of Corotoman, the colony's wealthiest planter, a connection that would have furthered his political and economic interests (Bruce 1897-1898:19-20,42; Stanard 1965:91).

Although relatively few documents have come to light that describe precisely how Philip Ludwell II utilized the extensive acreage he had inherited, it is likely that he raised tobacco and

other crops, used part of his plantation as pasturage and rented his excess land to others. In 1712 Philip Ludwell II commenced leasing 102 acres in the southeastern portion of the Governor's Land tract, acreage that in 1690 had been in the possession of Henry Jenkins.⁷² Both Jenkins and Ludwell had the parcel surveyed, which plats are still extant. Those documents reveal that the men's 102 acre parcel straddled the road that ran from Jamestown to Green Spring (the forerunner of Route 614) and that it abutted west upon the leasehold of William Drummond. When the Jenkins and Ludwell surveys are compared with John Soane's 1683 map of the Governor's Land, much may be learned about the manner in which their particular 102 acre parcel was developed. In 1683 William Loyd was in possession of a 35 acre lot that comprised the southwestern corner of the 102 acre Jenkins-Ludwell parcel. A dwelling that was in existence in 1683,⁷³ which was still standing in 1690, was gone by 1712. It had been located near a spring that was shown on the 1690 plat. To the east of Loyd's lot and across a boundary ditch were 50 acres that in 1683 were attributed to John Tallent. John Soane indicated that Tallent's dwelling⁷⁴ was located close to the bank of the James River. It was still in existence in 1712 and was labeled "Tallents old house." Between 1683 and 1712 the course of the old road from Jamestown to Green Spring essentially was unchanged (Jeffreys 1712; Soane 1683, 1690). Collectively, these surveys demonstrate that the Governor's Land tract was rented out repeatedly. They also suggest that the boundaries separating individual farmsteads tended to remain fixed.

⁷² Jenkins was the tanner who claimed that Berkeley's men had seized his cattle and that Bacon's men had taken numerous pairs of shoes he'd made.

⁷³ #4 on the Soane map.

⁷⁴ #5 on the Soane map of 1683.

Philip Ludwell II inherited from his father and stepmother the remaining time on William Berkeley's 99 year lease for 70 acres in the Governor's Land, which expired in 1773. As that particular parcel was contiguous to Green Spring and lay along its south-southeastern border, the common boundary line between the two properties probably became somewhat indistinct. The course of that dividing line was at the crux of litigation Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood initiated in 1716. By that date, the relationship between Spotswood and Philip Ludwell II had become strained. At issue was Spotswood's claim that Ludwell's Green Spring plantation had encroached upon part part of the Governor's Land. As Ludwell was obliged to defend his title to Green Spring, he hired Sir Robert Raymond to research his ownership rights so that he could protect the property from Spotswood's claim. Raymond prepared a document that described the Green Spring tract's legal boundaries and traced its ownership tradition (Bruce 1897-1898:383-387). In ca. 1770, when the estate of Philip Ludwell II's son, Philip III, was settled, William Goodall was hired to prepare a survey of Green Spring's boundaries. The plantation's southerly bounds, as depicted by Goodall, conformed with those demarcated by John Soane in 1683, i.e., they follow the meanders of Powhatan Swamp and a ditch that ran between the two properties.⁷⁵

On July 31, 1714, while Philip Ludwell II owned Green Spring, he had surveyor Simon Jeffreys lay off a 170 acre tract that was bound by Checkerhouse (Gordon's) Creek and two of its branches: Scotland Swamp and Titus Gut.⁷⁶ This parcel, which Ludwell intended to lease to Robert Goodrich, was in the

⁷⁵ Sir William Berkeley's 99 year lease for 70 acres in that vicinity was valid until 1773.

⁷⁶ Today, Titus Gut, which has been dammed, is known as Warburton Pond. Scotland Swamp (now nameless) is to its northeast.

northeast corner of the Green Spring tract. In September 1723 Philip Ludwell II had Simon Jeffreys survey a 150 acre parcel (the southwest corner of the Hot Water Dividend) for Edward Hooker. It lay east of some land Hooker's father had patented in 1683 (Jeffreys 1714, 1723).

The low-lying, swampy land along Powhatan Swamp and its branches was a good breeding ground for mosquitoes, references to which occur throughout Green Spring's history. Thus, the residents of the plantation may have been plagued by malaria and other insect-borne diseases. In early October 1709, William Byrd II noted in his diary that Hannah and Philip Ludwell II and their house-guest, Mrs. Wormeley, had been sick for several days and in July 1710 he reported that Hannah Ludwell and her daughter were very ill. Upon visiting Green Spring, he "found the family very melancholy." On another occasion Byrd complained that "The mosquitoes [at Green Spring] bit me extremely" (Byrd 1941:194,200-201).⁷⁷ Although it is doubtful that Philip Ludwell II would have equated the presence of mosquitoes with the prevalence of disease, during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries many people believed that marsh land and "bad air" caused sickness, especially malaria (Hughes 1957:4; Tate and Ammerman 1979:96-125).⁷⁸ In fact, in 1716 when Ludwell

⁷⁷ Philip Ludwell III's inventory, compiled in 1767, listed mosquito curtains, and during the 1790s the famous architect, Benjamin Latrobe, complained of the salt-marsh mosquitoes (Gallinippers) at Green Spring (see ahead).

⁷⁸ England, especially London which is surrounded by marshes, was beset with a succession of malaria (ague) epidemics during the seventeenth century. In 1658 one contemporary writer described England as a "monstrous public hospital." During that period, the theories of Thomas Sydenham, who perceived a link between environment and disease, became widely accepted (Hughes 1957:4,7).

was obliged to defend his title to Green Spring, reference was made to the fact that both William Berkeley and Colonel Ludwell had drained some of the low-lying land along Green Spring's south-southeastern boundary (Bruce 1897-1898:386).

In 1715 Philip Ludwell II was appointed a militia lieutenant for both James City and Isle of Wight Counties and he served as a justice of the James City County court. He also was elected to the vestry of Bruton Parish and was made a trustee of the College of William and Mary, of which he became rector in 1716. Ludwell also was involved in laying out the city of Williamsburg (Bruce 1899-1900:356; Morton 1956:238).

But Philip Ludwell II appears to have inherited his father's volatile temper and penchant for outspokenness, characteristics that tended to alienate Virginia's royal governors. For more than a decade he and Commissary James Blair were at odds with Governor Francis Nicholson, as they pressed the interests of the College of William and Mary. Later, Ludwell, who also had succeeded in alienating Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood, was dismissed from his Council seat and his job as deputy secretary (Shepperson 1942:8). Philip Ludwell II died on January 11, 1727, less than a month before his 55th birthday. He left a widow. However, his primary heir was an 11-year-old son, Philip Ludwell III (Morton 1956:238; Bruce 1899-1900:356).

PHILIP LUDWELL III

Philip Ludwell III was born at Green Spring on December 28, 1716. He was his parents' only son and their youngest child by 18 years. On April 4, 1731, Hannah Harrison Ludwell died. Thus, by the age of 15 Philip Ludwell III was an orphan. While young Ludwell was enrolled at the College of William and Mary, he placed an advertisement in the Virginia Gazette, seeking the return of "a Gold Mourning Ring, having on a Lozenge a black

enamel'd Cross, between 4 small Sparks; and round the Hoop these words: H. Ludwell, vd. Ob4 Aprilis, 1731" (Shepperson 1942:9,18-19). While Philip Ludwell III was in his youth he seems to have begun taking an active interest in the operation of the plantations he stood to inherit. In June 1737, he placed an advertisement in the Virginia Gazette, offering a reward for "a middle siz'd dark Bay Horse with a stain on his Forehead and a long switch tail" that had strayed away from Green Spring (Parks, June 10, 1737). A little over a year later, a similar advertisement appeared, this time for "a little white horse branded on the buttock with a horse-shoe; [it] is very fat and paces well." A reward of 10 shillings was offered (Parks, October 20, 1738).

Philip Ludwell III, like most members of Virginia's social elite, intermarried with another prominent family. On July 29, 1737, six months before he attained his majority, he wed Frances Grymes,⁷⁹ the daughter of Charles Grymes of Morattico Plantation in Richmond County and the granddaughter of Virginia governor Edmund Jennings. Together, Frances and Philip Ludwell III produced three daughters: Hannah Philippa (who was born on December 21, 1737), Lucy, and Frances. Philip Ludwell III, whose descendants have described him as a man of gentler temperament than his father and grandfather, followed in their footsteps by taking an active role in Virginia politics. Like his father, he was an intimate of William Byrd II, who was married to his first cousin. In 1752 Ludwell was appointed to the Governor's Council, on which he sat until 1760, and he served as a highly valued assistant to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, whose term spanned from

⁷⁹ Frances was described by one of her contemporaries as "a young Lady of great Merit and Fortune." She also was the niece of Philip Ludwell III's brother-in-law, John Grymes II (Shepperson 1942:19,455).

November 1751 to July 1756. Ludwell also served as a burgess and as a member of the Bruton Parish vestry (Stanard 1911:289; 1912:380; 1913:395-416; Shepperson 1942:18-19; Byrd 1942:xxxi, 155; Headley 1987:213).

While Governor Dinwiddie was in office, he leased 825 acres of the Governor's Land to Philip Ludwell III. An undated agreement between the two men described the boundaries of the acreage Ludwell was renting: 625 acres that lay west of William Drummond's land and bordered directly upon the James River,⁸⁰ plus 250 acres located in the northeastern corner of the Governor's Land, near the Church on the Maine. Both of these parcels were contiguous to Green Spring. Ludwell's 625 acres straddled the road that ran from Jamestown to Green Spring (Route 614), abutted a branch of Powhatan Swamp and fronted upon the James River. His 250 acre plot bordered the Green Swamp, the Powhatan Swamp and mill pond, and the roads leading from Williamsburg and the "new bridge" to the Chickahominy Ferry. Several tenements, which were occupied at the time the lease agreement was executed, were located within the bounds of the two parcels. Reference also was made to the dwelling that "formerly [was] ye Mansion House of ye Governour," the Green Spring manor house (Bruce 1897-1898:247-248). One of the parcels that Ludwell rented was in the immediate vicinity of the 70 acre subunit of the Governor's Land that William Berkeley had commenced leasing in 1646, and in 1674 had extended for another 99 years.⁸¹

⁸⁰ In 1671 William Drummond had obtained a 99 year lease for his property, which remained in the hands of his heirs even after his execution by Governor William Berkeley for his part in Bacon's Rebellion.

⁸¹ Berkeley's 99 year rental agreement would have become extinct in 1773.

Frances and Philip Ludwell III resided at Green Spring throughout their marriage. Philip, like many other members of the planter elite, was a sophisticated man of diverse interests. Horticulture was one of his passions and he cultivated exotic plant materials. He also took an active role in running his plantation. In 1753 he asked Henry Lee of Leesylvania for "a good Bundle of Grafts of each of the following sorts: P. H. Russett, White Russett, Pierces Russett & ye. Maryland Russett & the character each sort deserves" (Shepperson 1942:23).⁸² Ludwell also raised citrus fruit at Green Spring. On March 18, 1751, John Blair, who was visiting the plantation, noted in his diary that he and his host had gathered oranges earlier in the day. During the summer of 1751 Blair visited Green Spring several times. On June 20, 1751, he indicated that during his sojourn he had procured 1,500 bricks, 20 bushels of lime and 7 lbs. of lead. The text of his diary fails to disclose whether he obtained those materials at Green Spring, from Williamsburg, or nearby Jamestown (Tyler 1897-1898:136-143).

Frances Grymes Ludwell died at Green Spring in 1753, leaving behind three young daughters and a grieving husband who never remarried.⁸³ After the loss of his wife, Philip Ludwell III busied himself with politics and managing his properties. During the mid-1750s he served as the highly-valued assistant to

⁸² In 1778 Thomas Jefferson wrote that the golden wilding apple trees he planted in his gardens at Monticello were from Green Spring's orchards (Shepperson 1942:17).

⁸³ Green Spring was the scene of both joy and sorrow during 1753, for it was there that Frances Ludwell's sister, Lucy Grymes, married Henry Lee of Leesylvania. Lucy was the mother of Revolutionary War general "Lighthorse Harry" Lee and the grandmother of Confederate General Robert E. Lee. She was also the "Lowland Beauty" with whom George Washington was enamored (Shepperson 1942:455).

Governor Robert Dinwiddie and participated in important negotiations with the Indians on the colony's western frontier. During that period Philip also used his influence to get his friend, George Washington, appointed commander of Virginia's military forces (Shepperson 1942:16-17).

In 1759, Philip Ludwell III advertised in the Virginia Gazette for an absconded slave named Anthony, who

. . . ran away from Greenspring yesterday - had on a blue cotton jacket and breeches and a fine whited linen shirt. He is a tall fellow, remarkably hollow-eyed, has on one wrist a large scar from a burn and his left hand is somewhat withered and the fingers contracted by having cut himself across the inside of his wrist some time ago [Claiborne 1759].

He closed by offering a reward for the return of the missing slave.

In Spring 1760, Philip Ludwell III and his daughters set sail for London, so that his younger daughters, Lucy and Frances, could obtain what he considered a proper English education.⁸⁴ Philip, during his absence, entrusted the management of his plantations to Cary Wilkinson, in whom he had great confidence. Contemporary accounts reveal that Philip was troubled by ill health before he went abroad and that one of the reasons he went to England was to seek medical treatment. Although the nature of Philip Ludwell III's medical problems is unknown, in 1761 one of his friends informed George Washington that he was "in a declining way." Philip's health apparently continued to deteriorate, and on February 28, 1767, he was prompted to make his will. He died on March 25, 1767, and was buried in the Church of Bowe, near Stratford in Essex, England. He bequeathed

⁸⁴ Although Hannah Philippa's mother had trained her in the social graces, the younger Ludwell girls had been small children when she died and had been reared under the supervision of Cress, a black slave woman (Shepperson 1942:24).

all of his real and personal estate in Virginia to his three daughters. The eldest, Hannah Philippa, was then age 30, whereas Lucy and Frances were minors. He named as his estate's trustees Richard Corbin, Robert Carter Nicholas, John Wayles, and Benjamin Waller, who also were to serve as his daughters' guardians, should they return to Virginia while underage or unmarried. He stipulated that after his daughters came of age, they were to join his trustees in serving as co-executors of his Virginia estate. He nominated John Paradise and William Dampier as the executors of his estate in England and appointed them guardians of his underage daughters, Lucy and Frances (Shepperson 1942:23-24,32; Stanard 1911:288-9; 1913:395-416; Headley 1987:213).

When distributing his estate, Philip Ludwell III subdivided his Virginia landholdings into three parts. He left his oldest daughter, Hannah Philippa, the Green Spring Plantation and the Powhatan Mill and he gave daughter, Lucy, the Chippokes Plantation and all of his Surry County estate. Daughter Frances was to receive his property in Williamsburg plus the Rich Neck Plantation and his land in Archer's Hope. Ludwell stated that the confluence of Powhatan Swamp was to serve as the dividing line between the Green Spring and Rich Neck tracts and he noted that Green Spring lay on the swamp's western side. When bequeathing Powhatan Mill to Hannah Philippa, he said that he was leaving her the miller, which statement suggests strongly that the mill was operated by a slave. He also specified that Hannah Philippa was entitled to the slaves, livestock, certain household furniture and other personal estate on hand at Green Spring. However, he made no reference to the presence of such personal property at Rich Neck and Chippokes, which were bequeathed to daughters Lucy and Frances. This suggests that he had no personal possessions he considered noteworthy at either of those plantations. The inventory of Philip Ludwell III's estate suggests that Rich Neck was used as a quarter, which supports

this hypothesis. Thus, Rich Neck's main dwelling probably was occupied by a farm manager or tenant (Stanard 1911:288-289; 1913:395-416).

Philip Ludwell III ordered his executors to sell all of his household furniture, china, glassware and books in Virginia, dividing the proceeds among his daughters. However, excluded from the sale were a large mahogany escritoire with glass doors and a large mahogany dressing table that had a looking glass in a mahogany frame, both of which pieces belonged to daughter Hannah Philippa, personally.⁸⁵ Philip gave his friend, Charles Carol Jr., of Maryland, his choice of the books in his library at Green Spring. He left 100 pounds sterling to his daughter, Hannah Philippa, who was to bring Jane and Sarah, the daughters of his slave, Cress, to England and "put [them] in a way of getting their living." Philip noted that he had promised Jane and Sarah their freedom "for the faithful and unwearied care in nursing my dear little Orphans from the death of their mother." He ordered his executors in Virginia to ship all of the tobacco and annual produce of his plantations to the firm of Cary, Moorey and Welch, London merchants, and to submit accounts of those shipments to John Paradise and William Dampier, his executors in England (Stanard 1911:288-9).

The remarkably detailed inventory of Philip Ludwell III's personal possessions, compiled by his executors, sheds a considerable amount of light upon the affluent lifestyle the decedent and his family enjoyed while they lived at Green Spring. It also reveals that the decedent was a man of considerable sophistication. Although Ludwell's executors, when itemizing his

⁸⁵ Therefore, with the exception of the previously described pieces of furniture, Hannah Philippa Ludwell was to receive the proceeds from the sale of Green Spring's furnishings rather than the furnishings per se.

personal belongings, seem to have listed them in the order in which they were discovered, they failed to note what rooms or buildings they were found in (see Appendix B). Among the deceased's possessions were nine sets of fireplace equipment (eight of which had fenders and therefore may have been used in the house) and 13 pairs of window curtains of various fabrics; a large quantity of mahogany and walnut furniture; mirrors and pictures; a backgammon table and cards; a spinet; shaving mugs; sets of mosquito curtains; an ear trumpet; a bird cage; large quantities of yarn, cloth, thread and buttons; seven old swords, a bayonet, three pistols, one of which had holsters; four guns; a powderhorn, shot and bullet molds, and gun cleaning equipment; sets of money scales; a box of pipes; fishing seines; medicines and medical equipment; wine, brandy and other spirits; a set of globes and a pocket compass; a reading frame; a kitchen clock and three hour glasses; carboys; Martin pots (bird bottles); seven basins and ten chamber pots. Tools for shoemaking, blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, and carpentry were on hand, as were 100 candle molds, three spinning wheels and cards, looms for weaving, butter churns and pots, a bolting mill, a furnace for producing ashes (perhaps for the manufacture of lye soap), scrub brushes and a large supply of farming and household equipment. Bell glasses were on hand that would have been used in Green Spring's planting beds. Among the Ludwell family's tableware was a large quantity of ceramic vessels (including red and white and blue and white gilt plates, cups and bowls); specialized food service vessels such as fruit glasses, salts, cruets and mustard pots; chocolate cups and saucers; tart molds, beer and wine glasses; white stoneware mugs of various sizes; dessert knives and forks; chocolate molds; sweetmeat pots equipped with special forks; ivory-handled knives and forks; paraphernalia for tea service; coffee and tea pots; a toaster; decanters and waterers; pipkins; pie plates; cake and pastry pans; cheese plates; and

water dishes (likely compartmentalized bowls in which food was kept warm over hot water). Tubs and troughs for processing and salting meat were on hand as were an apple press, pickle bottles and a preserving pan, perhaps a vessel in which jams and other condiments were made (Stanard 1913:395-416).

Agricultural products attributed to Philip Ludwell III's Green Spring plantation included 265 barrels of corn; 5,404 lbs of tobacco; 180 bushels of wheat; 10 bushels of peas; and 1,254 lbs. of indigo.⁸⁶ Large quantities of cowhide and calfskins were on hand that may have been used in shoemaking or the production of leather goods (Stanard 1913:395-416).

Philip Ludwell III's executors set about disposing of his personal estate, in accord with his will. On November 16, 1767, they advertised in the Virginia Gazette that a public auction would be held at Green Spring, the seat of the late Philip Ludwell, Esq., on Thursday, December 10th, at which time would be

⁸⁶ Ludwell's executors, in inventorying his personal property at Green Spring, reported the presence of 29 indigo knives and 41 indigo hoes. Although Green Spring is the only one of Ludwell's James City County properties upon which indigo and the implements for its production were found at the time of his death, an archaeological site (44JC359), located on land that during the mid-eighteenth century was owned by Philip Ludwell III has been tentatively identified as an indigo-processing facility. During the mid-nineteenth century the area in question was known as the Indigo Dam tract. Collectively, these facts raise the possibility that indigo was grown at Green Spring, transported to 44JC359 for processing, and then returned to Green Spring for final disposition. In September 1771, indigo was offered for sale at Green Spring, along with other items from the estate of Philip Ludwell III. It is uncertain whether the indigo being sold was recently grown or was part of a previous year's crop, for the roots of indigo plants reportedly remain viable for three or four years (Rice and Brown 1982:I:274; Purdie and Dixon, October 10, 1771). As the late Philip Ludwell III's landholdings to the west of Powhatan Creek passed to his daughter, Hannah Philippa, and his acreage to the east of the creek descended to his daughter, Lucy, it is likely that the agricultural traditions of the decedent's properties diverged at that point in time.

offered for sale the decedent's

. . . household furniture, consisting of beds and furniture thereto belonging, mahogany and black walnut furniture for halls and bed chambers, mostly new, and finished in the most elegant manner; also a parcel of china and other useful furniture. And at the same time and place will be sold the library of the said Philip Ludwell, consisting of a large collection of the most valuable books now extant, neatly bound, gilt and lettered. Some fine colts will be exposed for sale at the same time. Credit will be allowed until June next for all sums above 5 pounds, [upon] giving bond and security to the Executors [Purdie and Dixon, November 12, 1767].

Philip Ludwell III at the time of his death, was in possession of several valuable James City County properties, including Green Spring (which had subunits called Scotland, Pinewood Meadow, and the Mill Quarter), Rich Neck, Hot Water, Cloverton, New Quarter and Archer's Hope. His inventory, which is undated but appears to have been prepared soon after his death, reveals that at the time he departed for England, he had been using Green Spring as his manor plantation and that his other James City County tracts were subsidiary farms or quarters upon which his slaves raised crops and livestock (Stanard 1911:288-289; Stanard 1913:395-416). Ludwell also had legal possession of an 825 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land, acreage he had commenced renting during the early 1750s and to which he held a 99 year lease (Bruce 1897-1898:245-248).

In 1769, when Philip Ludwell III's estate was being divided between his surviving daughters, surveyor James Morris made a plat of the Hot Water plantation, which was assigned to Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee. Morris's plat indicates that the Hotwater tract was comprised of 1,728 acres and encompassed much of the land between Colby Swamp branch of Gordon's Creek and the forerunner of Route 614 (Morris 1769).

A plat of the Green Spring property, prepared in ca. 1770 by William Goodall, when the estate of Philip Ludwell III was being

settled, defines the plantation's boundaries. It consisted of 4,296 1/2 acres and was subdivided into three major units: Scotland, Pine Meadows and Green Spring (the home tract upon which the mansion was situated) that enveloped "Mr. Warburton's Land."⁸⁷ The Mill Quarter, though not identified by name, lay to the southeast, near the Powhatan Mill Pond. It appears to have formed a fourth quarter. Three prominent roads traversed Green Spring's 4,296 1/2 acres: the main road from Barretts Ferry to Jamestown (forerunner of Route 5); the road from Jamestown to Chiswell's Ordinary (forerunner of Route 614); and the one that ran toward Barretts Ferry and crossed diagonally through Mr. Warburton's land. Gordon's Creek defined much of Green Spring's western and northwestern boundary lines. The southwest corner of the plantation was just east of the point where the forerunners of Routes 5 and 613 converged. A branch of Deep Bottom Creek, which extended toward the Green Spring mansion, also served as a property boundary (Stanard 1929:289).⁸⁸

That Green Spring in ca. 1770 consisted of several quarters or subsidiary working farms, reveals that Philip Ludwell III, like other wealthy Virginians whose landholdings were vast, had subdivided his property into lesser-sized units of manageable

⁸⁷ The New Quarter and Cloverton tracts, which were mentioned in Philip Ludwell III's estate inventory, may have been the two parcels (625 acres and 250 acres that were part of the Governor's Land) that Ludwell had commenced leasing from Lt. Governor Dinwiddie during the 1750s (Bruce 1897-1898:246-247).

⁸⁸ Deep Bottom Creek, which extends from the James River into the mainland, formed the physical boundary line between two major tracts of river front land that were laid out in 1619: the Governor's Land (which encompassed the acreage between the east side of Deep Bottom Creek and Jamestown Island) and the Virginia Company's Company Land (which spanned the territory between the west side of Deep Bottom Creek and the mouth of the Chickahominy River).

proportions.⁸⁹ Ludwell's father or grandfather (or perhaps Governor William Berkeley) may have been the first to adopt this land management system. Each of Philip Ludwell III's subsidiary farms had a sizeable number of slaves and herds of cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses. Also on hand were plows, hoes, ox carts and other agricultural tools, along with iron pots, grindstones, and rudimentary utensils that the slaves would have used in processing their food. Ludwell's inventory indicates that all of his plantations were producing tobacco, corn, and wheat. Green Spring's manor house quarter had a population of 73 slaves (29 men, 13 boys, 22 women, and 9 girls). Its livestock consisted of 47 mature cattle, 26 young cattle, 12 calves, 10 draught steers, 63 sheep, 36 hogs, 24 shoats, 4 sows, 29 pigs, 6 male horses (Britton, Partner, Sterling, Skim, Ruby and Chance), 12 nameless mares and 6 colts. Farming and agricultural equipment on hand at Green Spring included 31 broad and narrow hoes, 11 narrow axes, 7 harrow teeth, 4 plows, 6 old harrows, 2 ox carts and gear, a carry-log and chain, a tumbrel, 9 pair of cart wheels, 4 grindstones, and a pair of hand millstones (Stanard 1913:395-416).

At the Mill Quarter were eight slaves (5 men, a woman, a girl and a boy); four draft steers; 13 head of cattle; 6 calves; 21 hogs; a cart and gear; 10 hoes; 2 harrow hoes; 3 wedges and 3 axes; plus a grind stone, mill pecks and other paraphernalia. Top and blade fodder was stored there, along with 49 barrels of corn. At the quarter called Scotland were 22 slaves (7 men, 5 women, 5 boys, and 5 girls); assorted livestock (7 draft steers, 30 head of cattle, 6 calves, 14 sheep, 15 hogs, 10 young hogs);

⁸⁹ One contemporary example was Rosewell Plantation in Gloucester County, which was subdivided into four quarters that were delimited by a system of fences and natural geographical barriers, such as creeks and ravines. The land surrounding the Rosewell mansion was known as the Rosewell or manor house quarter (Hening 1809-1823:V:277-284;VI:480-483;VIII:445-447).

plus 3 harrow teeth, an iron pot and a grindstone, 3 iron wedges, an ox cart and gear. Farm produce on hand included 220 barrels of corn, fodder (tops and blades), 14 1/2 bushels of wheat, and 3,683 lbs. of tobacco. At Pinewoods Meadow were 22 slaves (4 men, 6 women, 6 boys, and 5 girls) and livestock included 6 draft steers, 21 head of cattle and 2 calves, 31 sheep, 5 hogs and 15 pigs. A cart and gear, 14 hoes, 4 axles, 3 harrow teeth and 3 wedges were on hand there as well as an iron pot and grindstone. Crops that were stored there included 87 1/2 barrels of corn, top and blade fodder, and 7 bushels of wheat (Stanard 1913:395-416). Thus, at the time of Philip Ludwell III's death, Green Spring's nearby quarters collectively comprised a substantial and productive working plantation. It is likely that the farming operations underway on Ludwell's other subsidiary properties were managed in a similar manner.

In 1768 when James City County's tax assessments were made, that portion of Philip Ludwell III's estate which lay in James City Parish (which jurisdiction included Green Spring plantation and its quarters, plus the Rich Neck and Hot Water plantations) was credited with 126 tithable individuals. The estate also paid quitrent fees upon each of those properties and was taxed upon the tobacco that was produced. In 1769 the Ludwell estate paid taxes upon 120 tithables who lived in James City Parish (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1768-1769).

Because Philip Ludwell, III's youngest daughter, Frances, died unmarried a little over a year after her father's demise, Frances's share of the estate was divided between her two sisters. Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee, who had inherited Green Spring and her father's other landholdings on the west side of Powhatan Creek, was age 30 at the time of her father's death.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Hannah Philippa's younger sister, Lucy, who inherited Rich Neck and her father's landholdings on the east side of Powhatan Creek, married John Paradise of London in June 1769, at the age

She was born at Green Spring in 1737, and while living abroad with her family, had married William Lee, the son of Virginia's acting governor, Thomas Lee of Stratford Hall.⁹¹ William Lee was a London merchant whose business was trading with Virginia planters. Thus, William and Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee continued to reside in Europe and entrusted Green Spring to the care of his brother, Richard Henry Lee. In 1783, however, the Lee couple decided to move to Virginia, to make Green Spring their home. William Lee and his eight-year-old son, William Ludwell Lee, set sail for Virginia, so that the plantation could be readied for the family's occupancy. However, while Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee awaited the opportunity to join her husband in Virginia, she became ill and died (Tyler 1897-1898:58; Stanard 1911:289; 1913:395-416; Headley 1987:204; Morton 1956:244).

WILLIAM LEE

The task of managing the real estate Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee had inherited from her father fell upon the shoulders of her husband, William, who seems to have eagerly welcomed that responsibility.⁹² As the Lee couple resided in England, they

of 16. She resided in England until 1805, at which time she returned to Virginia.

⁹¹ Hannah Philippa Ludwell and William Lee were first cousins, for her father, Philip Ludwell III and his mother (also named Hannah Philippa) were brother and sister (Shepperson 1942:455).

⁹² Lee, according to some sources, was a man whose miserly instincts and self-serving disposition inspired resentment. His compulsive desire to succeed made him generally distrustful of his fellow man. Some of William Lee's bitterness was justified, for his brother, Philip Ludwell Lee, who served as executor of their father's estate, was dilatory in settling it. It was only after a law suit and a delay of eight years that William Lee and his siblings received what was termed "the refuse of their father's property" (Shepperson 1942:28).

entrusted the management of their landholdings to William's brother, Richard Henry Lee of Westmoreland County, Virginia, who hired a series of farm managers to oversee their property. William Lee urged his brothers to pressure his late father-in-law's executors into quickly selling or dividing his personal estate. Lee also wanted the executors to assign to his wife, Hannah Philippa, that portion of her father's estate which lay contiguous to Green Spring but was intended for her deceased sister, Frances (Shepperson 1942:42).⁹³

At first, Lee entrusted Green Spring to the care of Cary Wilkinson, a local farmer who for many years had managed Philip Ludwell III's properties. Although Wilkinson seems to have been quick-tempered, hyper-sensitive and uneducated almost to the point of illiteracy, he also was shrewd, hardworking, and capable, when it came to managing the Ludwell estate. Unfortunately, his earliest dealings with the parsimonious William Lee foretold the stormy relationship that lay ahead. Lee's brothers' comments did little to ameliorate the situation. During the summer of 1769 bad weather destroyed almost all of the crops at Green Spring. Later in the year, Richard Henry Lee informed his brother, William, that "Cary Wilkinson tells me that he has lost on the whole estate this winter" and Philip Ludwell Lee told him that:

Yr head overseer [Wilkinson] is a poor one & Colonel Ludwell just before he went home [to England] tho't so & desired me

⁹³ Shepperson concluded that the Lee family motto, "Non Incautus Futuri" or "Not Unmindful [Incautious] of the Future" aptly described William Lee's personality. Even so, William's personal correspondence suggests that despite his tendency to micro-manage his business affairs, he was devoted to his wife and children and lacked neither warmth nor humor. After marrying Hannah Philippa Ludwell, he became a sheriff of London and later, was elected alderman. He is the only American known to have achieved that honor (Shepperson 1942:28,38-39).

to look out for one for him . . . Yr. houses in Wmsbg. are in bad repair, always rented to bad tenants, always nasty & few rents paid [Shepperson 1942:47-48].

However, Cary Wilkinson, who was in the employ of Philip Ludwell III's trustees, continued to serve as overseer, managing not only Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee's properties on the north side of the James, but also that of her sister, Lucy Ludwell Paradise. In March 1770, Wilkinson placed an advertisement in the Virginia Gazette, seeking to recover a runaway slave:

Run away from the estate of the Honorable Philip Ludwell, Esq., sometime January last, a likely Virginia born negro man named Phil, about 5 feet 8 inches high and clothed in the usual manner of labouring negroes.⁹⁴ It is probable he may go into the Northern neck as he formerly belonged to the estate of Colonel Charles Grymes.⁹⁵ [Purdie and Dixon, March 8, 1770].

The personal correspondence of William Lee, some of which has been preserved in letter-books, contains many references to Green Spring and sheds a considerable amount of light upon how the plantation was managed during the years Hannah Philippa and William Lee lived abroad. On July 7, 1770, Richard Henry Lee wrote to his brother, William, that

I came a week ago from Williamsburg and was present when the division was made between you and Mr. Paradise [Lucy Ludwell's husband]. The Green Spring Land was valued at 20/ per acre. The whole land west of Powhatan [Swamp], Mrs. Lee has by will and so allotted her now, together with 164 slaves, 217 head of cattle, 190 head of sheep with 17 horses, one improved and one unimproved lot in Jamestown and the following lots in Williamsburg. The houses in Williamsburg were divided by lot. The large brick house that Rind⁹⁶ lives in, the mansion it is called, whereby uncle's [the late

⁹⁴ A black slave named Phil was living at the Pinewood Meadow quarter at the time Ludwell's estate was inventoried (Stanard 1913:398).

⁹⁵ Grymes was the deceased Ludwell's father-in-law.

⁹⁶ Rind was publisher of the Virginia Gazette.

Philip Ludwell III] family lived in Town, with the Blue Bell, a large house just behind the Capital, fell to your share. The remaining furniture at Green Spring with the books, are to be sold for common benefit, and the money divided. I desired [Cary] Wilkinson to buy two of the beds, and some chairs on your account, to be in the house when we went down to visit the Estate. The gardens and orchards at Green Spring are extensive and furnished with a variety of good fruit. Out of the 164 slaves mentioned above but 59 are crop negroes. I mean exclusive of boys. Twelve are house servants, 4 carpenters, one a wheelwright, two shoemakers, three gardeners and hostlers. The horses are really useless and consume a great deal of corn, the plantation business being done with oxen. The gardens are indeed in tolerable condition. The Green Spring improvements were valued at L 700. The house at Green Spring wants repair much. I fear that the long gallery will fall in despite of props, having already quitted the house a little. The walls appear good, and I believe the timbers are likewise so. I am informed that Major Taliaferro⁹⁷ says he will make a thorough repair for L 500. The woolens sent in last year for your people are through [worn out]- light and insufficient. Good Welch cotton seems upon the whole to answer best. The weeding hoes were good for nothing- much loss is sustained from not having proper instruments of husbandry.

N.B. Most of the household furniture are sold and many of the Books, a few articles still remain at Green Spring some of little or no value. Such as are saleable may be disposed of if desired, the Books remaining on hand after being repeatedly advertised for sale, were put into the Book sellers hands but few of them have yet been disposed of [Stanard 1929:293-294]

In early October 1771 Cary Wilkinson, Green Spring's overseer, placed an advertisement in the Virginia Gazette, in which he announced that an auction was to be held on the premises on Tuesday, October 22, 1771.

To be sold at Greenspring . . . All the household and kitchen furniture belonging to the estate of the Honorable Philip Ludwell, Esq., deceased. Consisting of several valuable

⁹⁷ This was likely a reference to Richard Taliferro, who is credited with building the manor house at nearby Powhatan Plantation and the Wythe house in the city of Williamsburg.

beds, furniture &c. Also a large quantity of Indigo, a set of blacksmith's tools, a complete cider press with screws, and various other articles. Credit will be allowed for all sums above 40 shillings until next April 10. Cary Wilkinson.

Also for sale, bay stallion, 6 years old, 15 hands high, and several blooded colts, the property of William Lee, Esq. [Purdie and Dixon, October 10, 1771].

Wilkinson, in disposing of the horses, was likely carrying out instructions he had received from William Lee's brother, who earlier on had described them as a drain on the plantation's economy.

As noted earlier, the enlarged Green Spring plantation, at the time of Philip Ludwell III's death, consisted of three or four quarters that had slaves, livestock, farming tools and household paraphernalia, all of which real and personal estate became the property of Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee and her husband, William. As Mrs. Lee inherited her father's landholdings to the west of Powhatan Creek, she also came into possession of the quarter called the Hot Water plantation, which was located a mile west of Green Spring's northern boundary and about 7 miles west of Williamsburg (Hatch 1945:175).⁹⁸ When the personal property of Philip Ludwell III was inventoried by his executors, there were 32 slaves (8 men, 8 women, 5 boys and 11 girls) in residence upon the Hot Water plantation, plus some livestock.⁹⁹ The plantation's equipment consisted of a brass-barreled gun, an ox cart and gear, a grindstone, and an iron pot.

Also on hand when the inventory was made were 171 1/2 barrels of corn; top and blade fodder; 1,683 1/2 lbs. of tobacco; and 33 1/4 bushels of wheat (Stanard 1913:395-396). The Hot Water

⁹⁸ The Hot Water quarter was located near what became the crossroads community called Centerville.

⁹⁹ As the specific page that lists Ludwell's possessions at Hot Water is fragmentary, it is uncertain what types of livestock were then on the property.

plantation, like Green Spring, was under Cary Wilkinson's management.

Hardly had William Lee taken custody of his wife's Virginia properties than he dispatched a series of letters to Cary Wilkinson, telling him how he wanted farming operations to be carried out.¹⁰⁰ Lee insisted that Wilkinson maintain an accurate account of the plantation's productivity, submitting the records to him regularly. He also demanded an annual inventory of the slaves and livestock that were on his wife's acreage, plus an account of any profits derived from hiring out skilled slaves or leasing land to tenants. Lee instructed Wilkinson to see that his lands were surveyed and that plats were prepared. Those documents were to be accompanied by a list of the buildings on each component of the property.¹⁰¹ Lee also told his overseer to sort carefully all tobacco that was to be shipped abroad and to obtain tobacco seed from Edward Digges near Yorktown, from William Nelson's estate in Hanover, and from Chippokes plantation. Lee added said that "all seeds in ye world grow

¹⁰⁰ As Lee had left Virginia at a relatively early age and had had little (if any) practical experience in managing a plantation, and as Wilkinson, prior to the death of Philip Ludwell III had had a free hand in running his farming operations, it is not surprising that Lee's advice was inhospitably received.

¹⁰¹ Perhaps it was in response to this request that Green Spring was surveyed by William Goodall (ca. 1770). The Goodall plat indicates that the boundaries of the enhanced 4,296.1 acre Green Spring tract followed the confluence of Gordons Creek and its lesser branch, which led toward Route 614; turned southwest on Route 614; and then headed east on Route 613, reaching Powhatan Creek. The plantation's property line headed south on Powhatan Creek until it came to a westerly branch that extended toward the Green Spring mansion, and then traced an irregular jog that interfaced with the Governor's Land. It crossed Route 5 and ran to the head of Deep Bottom Creek. The line then turned west, paralleling Route 5, and reached a point just east of where Routes 5 and 613 intersect. At that juncture, the property line crossed Route 613 and then followed a lesser branch of Gordons Creek.

worse, if continued too long in the same ground." When Wilkinson replied that the land at Green Spring was too poor to produce large crops of tobacco, Lee told him to sow "a good deal of wheat, wch might always sell well." He also said that neither lambs nor sheep should be slaughtered unless they had lost their teeth, "by wch means in a little time I sh'd hope yr stock may be so increased as to yield wool enough with the assistance of flax and cotton to cloath all the people" (Shepperson 1942:49-51).

William Lee furnished his overseer with detailed instructions on how to manage the plantation's slaves. He told Wilkinson to "let some of the girls & infirm old women be taught to spin flax & kept constantly at it, as flax grows very well in every part of Virginia & is much more worth your regard than cotton." He said that young slaves should be made apprentices to the older ones trained in trades. He added that since there was no smith on his property, "I think you sh'd directly put two of the most ingenious & likely young fellows of 16 or 17 years old 'prentices for 3 or 4 years to the best Country blacksmith that you have." Lee said he'd heard that traveling preachers had "put most of my Negroes crazy with their New Light and their New Jerusalem," a reference to his slaves' participation in local evangelistic meetings. He therefore proposed rewarding slaves who attended local parish services by giving them a larger food allowance or an extra shirt. William Lee instructed Wilkinson to see that his orchards were maintained properly and told him to make grafts every spring so that whenever trees died or were destroyed, they could be replaced. He also said that he did not want anyone to hunt deer or fowl on his lands and that trespassers were to be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law (Shepperson 1942:49-51).

Cary Wilkinson, having received a batch of quarrelsome letters from his employer, responded in broken but caustic English, addressing each issue Lee had raised. He also pointed

out some of Lee's own shortcomings. He said "If the Hoes you sent last year had been good we might have dun with fuer [fewer] this year but the largest Hoes was No. 2 which was fit for nun but Boys, they wore out before the Crop was fininished so that we had no Hoes to work this Spring." He closed by saying "Their is nothing that I can do semes to give Satisfaction and without [unless] I can, I will sarve no man." Thus, Cary Wilkinson, who had managed Philip Ludwell III's properties for many years, was offended by William Lee's tediousness and distrustful attitude and therefore threatened to quit. Although Lee responded with what he believed was a conciliatory letter, hoping to persuade Wilkinson to stay on, and he shipped linens, woolens, blankets, hose, thread, and sifters for the slaves at Green Spring, along with casks of nails and bundles of hoes, it was too little too late. Even so, Cary Wilkinson persisted in submitting his resignation (Shepperson 1942:54,56-57; Lee, March 20, 1771).

Wilkinson's departure most likely caused some upheaval in the lives of the slaves who had been under his charge, if only because his replacement probably had a somewhat different management style. On August 8, 1771, Edmond Bacon, who succeeded Cary Wilkinson as overseer, advertised in the Virginia Gazette for a:

Runaway slave, negro woman named Jenny, ¹⁰² about 23 years of age, 5 feet 5 inches high, has a small scar on one of her cheeks, which seems to have been occasioned by the stroke of a whip. Has been seen in Williamsburg with James Anderson (blacksmith) and Robert Hyland. Whoever delivers her to me at Greenspring shall have reward [Rind August 8, 1771].

By January 3, 1775, Edmond Bacon had been replaced by George Fauntleroy. William Lee, when writing to a business contact in Ostend, Belgium, who appears to have been sending supplies to

¹⁰² A black slave named Jenny was living at Rich Neck at the time an inventory was made of the Ludwell estate (Stanard 1913:401).

Green Spring, stated that:

George Fauntleroy should be kept in the strictest order. The servants you must [provide for as] well as you can, but the women at 4 years will not pay their passage, ¹⁰³ especially Mrs. Merrit, who is I suppose, mistress or wife to the famous Amos Merrit. The bedding, etc. that are not wanting on the passage by all means contrive to my Estate for I cannot send anything for its use this year; write to Fauntleroy and tell him he must make the best shift he can, as I will not permit anything to be bo't [bought] in the Country [Stanard 1929:295].

The following month he wrote to the same man, asking what he'd heard from Green Spring and instructing him to "take care of the Trents particularly" (Stanard 1929:295). A February 10, 1775, letter William wrote to his brother, Richard Henry Lee, reveals that his concern stemmed from the manner in which his overseer, George Fauntleroy, was managing Green Spring. He said:

This year Fauntleroy tells me I am to expect little Tobo and no money, at the same time talks of buying goods in the Country besides sending a much larger Invoice than was ever before demanded by the Estate, tho' the negroes have decreased in No. ever since they were divided. All this surely requires some attention else in a little time the only use of the Estate will be to support Mr. F. like a gentleman. His proceedings are not approved by some near him who I believe wish both me and Mrs. Lee well, however, you can judge best and will act accordingly. I am sure both you and my Brother Loudoun have already had so much trouble with the estate that it gives me pain whenever I am obliged to mention any disagreeable circumstances, but I think both your goodness and affection will induce you to pardon me [Stanard 1929:295-296].

Three months later a violent weather-front passed through Tidewater Virginia, causing damage in Williamsburg and the surrounding countryside. The May 26, 1775 edition of the Virginia Gazette carried an account of that episode, noting that Green Spring had been particularly hard-hit.

Last Monday between 2 and 3 o'clock we had three severe hail

¹⁰³ This suggests that Lee was importing indentured servants for Green Spring.

storms, from the west, which quickly succeeded each other. The first lasted very near 5 minutes and most of the stones were as big as pidgeon's eggs, some much larger. A great number of windows were broken, particularly at the Palace, which lost upward of 400 panes. The gardens likewise sustained considerable damage and we hear that the storm was very violent at Greenspring and sundry other places near town [Purdie, May 26, 1775].

No references have come to light that reveal how Green Spring's physical improvements (such as the dwelling's windows and roofing) were affected. It is likely, however, that the plantation's field crops were damaged as a result of being pummeled by the hail and that its built environment also would have sustained some injuries.

By June 28, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, as his brother's agent, had decided to discharge George Fauntleroy and he placed the following advertisement in the Virginia Gazette:

Wanted: a steward for the estate of Mr. Alderman Lee of Greenspring, near Williamsburg. As the business is considerable and the trust great, any person willing to undertake the same will meet with the most generous and satisfactory encouragement by applying to Thomas Ludwell Lee, Esq., of Belleview in Stafford or to the subscriber at Chantilly in Westmoreland. Richard Henry Lee [Purdie, June 28, 1776].

Subsequent correspondence indicates, however, that a new overseer was not found until the following spring, by which time a man named John Ellis was filling the position. Again, the arrival of a new overseer appears to have disrupted the lives of the plantation's slaves for in April 1777 Ellis placed an advertisement in the Virginia Gazette:

Run away from the Subscriber in James City County, the 1st February last, a negro fellow named Marcus,¹⁰⁴ about 5 ft. 4 inches high, 35 years old, of a yellow complexion and was

¹⁰⁴ Marcus was one of Green Spring plantation's slaves in 1767, when Philip Ludwell III's estate was inventoried by his executors (Stanard 1913:403).

brought up a waiter in the house. He had on, when he went away, a blue Newmarket coat, with coat, waistcoat and breeches of the same color. Whoever delivers the said negro to me at Greenspring shall have 3 L reward and upon information so that I get him again, 40 s. John Ellis [Purdie, April 11, 1777].

That William Lee, despite his grumbling about expenditures, felt relatively secure about his finances is evidenced by a letter he wrote to his brother, Richard Henry, in May 1777. He stated that when the estate of their brother, Philip Ludwell Lee, was settled, his share of the proceeds were to be set aside to

. . . remain as a nest egg for my little female hummingbird (now ten days old) until she is either married or of age. The Green Spring Estate will remain for my boy . . . Amply enough will be left for those who may deserve it after my children are provided for, since I would rather wish to leave them wise and virtuous than over rich [Stanard 1929:296].

The son to whom he referred was William Ludwell Lee, who at William's death inherited Green Spring plantation.

In August 1777 William Lee wrote W. Aylett, who lived in Virginia that

. . . it would be a most pleasing circumstance if I could be informed how things are going on at Green Spring and I must beg the favor of you to give immediate directions to the manager there to have all tobacco that is on Hand prized into Hhds. - keep them ready at a moments warning to be brought to the water, as endeavors to contrive for an opportunity for bringing away this and some friends Tobacco [Stanard 1929:296].

William Lee apparently was satisfied with the way John Ellis carried out his duties as Green Spring's farm manager, for on September 1, 1777 he wrote brother, Richard Henry, that although

Fauntleroy has turned out as I always expected . . . I hope Ellis will do well, as the specimen of the accounts he has sent show an attention to things that have not been regarded before. I am fully sensible from my own experience how much your private interest must have suffered by your application to Public Concerns, therefore instead of complaining I have to thank you heartily for what you have done for me [Stanard 1929:296-297].

In October Lee again thanked his brother for attending to his Virginia estate and a month later he followed up by recommending that it "would generally be well to convert the tobacco and all other produce of the [Green Spring] Estate into money whenever a proper price is offered." He speculated that in light of current events (i.e., the war between Great Britain and her colonies) he and his family might be obliged to relocate to Virginia. If so, they "would wish to find something comfortable to set down with" (Stanard 1929:296-298).

In January 1778, when Richard Henry Lee was in Williamsburg attending meetings of the assembly, he visited Green Spring to check on conditions there. Favorably impressed with what he saw, he concluded that it would be advantageous for Green Spring's overseer, John Ellis, to take on the management of Rich Neck, operating the two plantations jointly. Later, when Richard Henry Lee put his thoughts in writing, he pointed out that both estates traditionally had been under the same management and that "from their situation [are] capable of cooperating and assisting each other."¹⁰⁵ He told William that he had instructed John Ellis to communicate with him directly on the subject (Maxwell 1848:179-180). Richard Henry Lee commented that:

. . . considering the most infamous condition Fauntleroy left everything here, I think Ellis has done well and is going to do much better. I can assure you that as far as I can judge you have got a prize in him and I hope to soon see your affairs here in a flourishing condition. To the things Ellis has written for, I think you should add a small box of well assorted medicines for the use of your people. This is certainly a very sickly place and medicine here is now so scarce and so excessively dear, that in this way they are without remedy [Stanard 1929:297-298].

On February 15, 1778 William Lee informed his brother, Richard Henry, that:

¹⁰⁵ As Rich Neck was owned by Lucy Ludwell Paradise and her husband, John, who also were living abroad, Richard Henry Lee was proposing a joint business venture.

With respect to the affairs at Green Spring . . . I wish particular attention may be paid to rearing young negroes and taking care of those grown up, that the number may be increased as much as possible; also putting several of the most promising and ingenious Lads apprentices to different Trades; such as Carpenters, Coopers, Wheelwrights, Sawyers, Shipwrights, Bricklayers, Plasterers, Shoemakers and Blacksmiths; some women also should be taught to weave. The planting of White Mulberry Trees should not by any means be neglected; the corners of the Pannels of the Fences, round all the fields, will be proper places. If, ever I return, the Culture of Silk will be my principal object, which I am morally certain, will succeed even to the most sanguine expectations [Stanard 1929:298-299].

In June 1778 William Lee wrote John Ellis that he was pleased to learn that Green Spring, under his management, was being put into good order. He expressed his hope that Ellis, in a short while, would be able to reap a profit from the plantation, which had suffered losses during the last three years. Lee said that

. . . in general I wish you to get as much of the swampy lands as possible made into Timothy Meadows instead of setting any Hay or Fodder. I think they will be more beneficially employed in increasing and supporting well a large stock of cattle and sheep to manuring your lands.

He told Ellis that he wanted a large quantity of white mulberry trees planted "by the sides of the fences and round all the fields," and told him to take good care of the fruit trees and gardens. He also instructed Ellis to put some of the slave boys to work as apprentices, perhaps as house-joiners, bricklayers and ship carpenters, and noted that "The women with child should never be hard worked or oppressed, and the children should always be plentifully fed and have necessary clothing. I wish them all to be treated as human beings whom Heaven has placed under my care." Lee, in closing, said that the year's tobacco crop should be sold in Virginia and the proceeds invested in the public loan office (Stanard 1929:299).

By the end of 1778, William Lee had become discouraged, for

he had received no remuneration from Congress, for which he was serving as a commercial agent. He also had learned that his houses in Williamsburg were "very greatly damaged," for they had been used as a barracks and hospitals for American troops. Perhaps feeling disheartened, he resolved to sell all of the Virginia properties his wife had inherited. When he asked one of his brothers to offer it for sale, he told him to dispose of it in its entirety or not at all. He said that he and his wife wanted their children to have a landed inheritance in America and that he might invest the proceeds of the sale in the new lands being opened to settlement along the Ohio River (Church 1984:95,298; Shepperson 1942:136).

William Lee apparently anticipated no problems in finding a buyer for Green Spring, for on June 1779 he wrote Thomas Lee of Chantilly that according to his best recollections, he had left some important papers at the plantation, which documents should be removed and preserved. He said that they were stored

. . . in the dealdesk where I used to write. All the other papers and books left by me in that Desk and those that I left in my closet would be put into a box by themselves and then put up with all the books, letters, Papers, etc. of every kind relative to the former mercantile business to be brought with you when you come. There are two large Boxes sealed of old family papers in the store room up one pair of stairs, they may be marked H. P. L. No. 1 and 2 to be kept until called for, and left with Mr. R. Wray or any friend that will take care of them [Stanard 1929:300].

Green Spring plantation was not sold, however, for conditions in Virginia and the course of the American Revolution swept aside William Lee's carefully laid plans.

On May 20, 1781, British General Charles Lord Cornwallis arrived in Petersburg with an army of seasoned veterans. He joined forces with the men of General William Phillips, who were then under the command of Benedict Arnold. Cornwallis fixed upon the plan of routing the Allied Army (which then consisted of the

Marquis de Lafayette's troops and the men of General Anthony Wayne) from the vicinity of Richmond. As the British pressed their offensive, the Allies retreated down the James-York peninsula and Cornwallis and his men set out in pursuit. During June, Lafayette adopted a strategy of paralleling the British Army's movements while staying just out of reach. This enabled the Allied Army to avoid a confrontation during a time when badly-needed reinforcements were on the way. Finally, on June 26th the two armies faced off at Spencer's Plantation, not far from Green Spring and William Lee's Hot Water tract. It was the prelude to a major battle that occurred at Green Spring plantation only two weeks later (Hatch 1945:170-196).

On June 30, 1781 Cornwallis informed his superiors that in accord with orders, he was withdrawing from Williamsburg to Jamestown, so that his men could cross the James and head for Portsmouth, where they could set sail for New York. By July 4th, the main body of the British Army was encamped near Jamestown Island, on the mainland, which in 1781 consisted of plantations and small farms interspersed with marsh, woodland and cultivated fields. The morning of July 6th found the British still in that position (Hatch 1945:170-196).

Lafayette, meanwhile, received word that the main body of the British Army already had crossed the James. Unaware that he had fallen prey to false intelligence data, he resolved to draw closer to the British position, so that he could attack the relatively few British troops he presumed had been left behind.

¹⁰⁶ To achieve that objective, Lafayette dispatched a detachment

¹⁰⁶ Banastre Tarleton later wrote in his journal that one or two days before, he had bribed "a white man and a negro to go out and if they met with any American detachments, to inform them that the British army, except a small portion of it, had crossed the river" (Maxwell 1853:202-203).

of men under the command of General Anthony Wayne; however, he held the greater part of his force in abeyance (Hatch 1945:170-196).¹⁰⁷

Early in the afternoon of July 6, General Wayne reached "the large brick house" at Green Spring. He paused there to assess the strength of his enemy, whose position he was nearing. A strip of low-lying marsh approximately a quarter of a mile wide ran from Powhatan Creek, on the east, to a small branch of Deep Creek on the west. Directly in front of the Green Spring mansion was a narrow causeway that formed the bed of a road that ran toward Jamestown.¹⁰⁸ The terrain between Green Spring and Jamestown Island consisted of cleared fields rimmed by dense forestation and marsh land. Also in view were several plantations, a church yard and roads that led toward Williamsburg, Jamestown, and the Chickahominy River. Around 2 P. M., when a small group of American riflemen and a scouting party, which consisted of Colonel Mercer and 10-12 horsemen, advanced across the causeway in front of the Green Spring mansion, they came face to face with a British cavalry patrol.¹⁰⁹ After a

¹⁰⁷ Wayne's corps of 500 men included Major McPherson's legion, Colonel Mercer's and Captain Hill's volunteer dragoons, 150 militia riflemen, and Colonel Walter Stewart's battalion of Pennsylvanians (Hatch 1945:170-196).

¹⁰⁸ According to Henry Lee, the ground in front of Green Spring was "low, wet and sunken, reclaimed by ditches, which intersect it in various directions. This sunken ground extends for a considerable distance above and below the house and is nearly 1/4 mile wide. From the house to the road across the low ground, a causeway had been formed by the proprietor of Green Spring and presented the only practicable route for troops" (Lee 1969:429).

¹⁰⁹ Henry Lee had a somewhat different recollection of this incident. He said that Mercer and his men came upon the Green Spring mansion unexpectedly and that he learned from a slave that Tarleton was quartered on the property in the spring house and that Cornwallis, at that moment, was encamped at the church (i.e., the Church on the Main near Jamestown) (Lee 1968:429).

brief exchange of fire, the riflemen pressed on. Next, they encountered a group of British pickets, who fired and then fell back. Through this feigning maneuver, Lafayette's men were lured more and more deeply into Cornwallis's carefully contrived trap (Hatch 1945:170-196).

Meanwhile, when the Marquis de Lafayette arrived at Green Spring, he was told that the British were continuing to withdraw across the James River. When he proceeded to a vantage point on the bank of the James, to gain first hand knowledge of the situation, he learned that the British hadn't crossed the river after all, and that he had been tricked. He hurried back to Green Spring and found that combat already was underway. Lafayette attempted to save his men, who were in the midst of the enemy, by stationing two battalions of Virginia troops in an open field at the west end of Green Spring's causeway. There, they were in a position to cover General Wayne's inevitable retreat.

Meanwhile, Wayne's men, still unaware of Cornwallis's ruse, ventured further east, toward Jamestown. They caught sight of a British field piece that was slowly being withdrawn and followed it without realizing that it was a decoy. At that juncture, the British stepped out of the woods and confronted the startled American troops. Although the Americans wheeled about to confront their enemy, the British turned both flanks of their line, which was obliged to retreat. General Wayne charged the British, in an attempt to cover his men's withdrawal across the narrow causeway in front of the Green Spring mansion. As darkness fell, both sides ceased fire and retired from the battlefield. Lafayette stayed at Green Spring for several hours and then moved further inland, leaving behind three companies of light infantry. At daybreak on July 7th, British Colonel Banastre Tarleton, with 200 dragoons and 80 mounted infantrymen, traversed Green Spring's causeway. Near the domestic complex, they encountered a patrol of mounted riflemen, who fell back

toward the position of the main army. At that point, Tarleton, who perhaps sensed that he was outnumbered, withdrew to his camp. On July 8th, the British crossed the James River and Lafayette took up a position on the Amblers' plantation, the acreage upon which his enemies had encamped only two days earlier (Hatch 1945:170-196; Bruce 1893-1894:2).

One soldier, who returned to the scene of combat after all fighting ceased, said that both armies' lines could be traced by the trail of empty cartridge boxes on the ground. An American officer later informed his superiors that he had "employed a person to collect from the [local] people the arms picked up after the action at Jamestown, which are chiefly State property." Thus, it appears that the fought-over ground between Green Spring and Jamestown was littered with discarded weapons and cartridge boxes. On September 3, 1781, Captain John Davis of the Pennsylvania Line noted in his diary that after encamping upon "James Town plains this day, at night we march'd to Greenspring, where we passed the night" (Bruce 1893-1894:9). As late as 1852, evidence of the Battle of Green Spring was still to be seen in the local landscape. Historian Benson J. Lossing, who visited "Amblers," the home of John Coke, and went from the mainland to Jamestown Island, reported that his host's dwelling "has many bullet marks, made there during the battle at Jamestown Ford, on the 6th of July, 1781." Lossing also stated that the French Army had returned and encamped in Coke's field immediately prior to the Battle of Yorktown (Lossing 1852:240-240; Hatch 1945:170-196).

Two French cartographers in Rochambeau's Army prepared maps that include Jamestown Island and the terrain over which the Battle of Green Spring was fought. D'Abboville (1781) identified the Green Spring property by name, depicted the road that extended from the manor house toward Jamestown Island, and indicated that in 1781 much of the plantation was densely wooded.

But his rendering sheds very little light upon Green Spring's built environment, for it shows only the mansion.¹¹⁰ However, Jean-Nicholas Desandrouin (1781), one of D'Abboville's contemporaries, devoted a considerable amount of attention to the layout of Green Spring's domestic complex. His map reveals that in 1781 the manor house was L-shaped and that it was surrounded by a cluster of 13 outbuildings. The driveway that led up to the front of the mansion was an extension of the road that ran toward Jamestown (Route 614's forerunner), traversing the thoroughfare that extended toward the Chickahominy River (Barrett's) ferry (Route 5's forerunner).¹¹¹ In 1781 an elaborately curved wall emanated from each of the Green Spring mansion's front corners. In front of those walls was a line of advance buildings. A row of buildings also flanked the rear of the mansion and a solitary structure was positioned on a point overlooking Powhatan Swamp. A considerable distance to the rear of the domestic complex were two other buildings. Desandrouin also indicated the placement of the fence lines that enclosed what appears to have been gardens or other landscape features. In 1781, Green Spring's front fields extended across Route 5's forerunner, abutting cleared fields that lay within the bounds of the Governor's Land tract.¹¹² To the east of Green Spring was the Wilkinson

¹¹⁰ The only facsimile of D'Abboville's map that currently is available is unsuitable for reproduction in this report.

¹¹¹ Maps prepared by Confederate cartographers in 1863 and 1864 reveal that by that time, that portion of Route 614's forerunner which in 1781 passed to the west of the Green Spring manor house complex had been shifted to the east (Gilmer 1863, 1864) (see ahead).

¹¹² To the east of Deep Creek and on the south side of Route 5's forerunner was a small clearing, within which were two structures. By 1794 William Lee had purchased acreage in that area, which may have included some of the land that Philip Ludwell III commenced leasing from Governor Robert Dinwiddie

plantation, home of William Lee's first overseer, Cary Wilkinson (Desandrouin 1781).

The Battle of Green Spring's impact upon the plantation's domestic complex and the surrounding acreage apparently was considerable, for on July 15, 1781, Richard Henry Lee informed his brother, William, that:

I thought it necessary that you should know as soon as possible what manner you have been affected by the military operations of the enemy of this State wch. you will be by the enclosed account from Valentine your present Stewart [steward] who succeeded upon the death of Ellis. All that I can say is that every precaution for security was taken that could have been which has occasioned your loss to be so much less than that of others in similar circumstances &c. Your neighbors, Colo. Taliaferro and Colo. Travis ¹¹³ lost every slave they had in the world and Mr. Paradise has lost all his but one. This has been the general case of all those who were near the enemy. . . . It would have been next to an impossibility to have prevented your loss, for reasons that you shall know hereafter. The enemies Generals here appear to carry on the war much more upon views of private plunder and enriching individuals than upon any plan of national advantage. This seems to be demonstrated by Lord Cornwallis quitting all that he had been laboring for in the south during more than a year and leaving all that he had been doing to be undone by General Greene . . . whilst the British General has been traversing an undefended part of Virginia, with an Army employed in taking off Negroes, plate, &c. and destroying Corn, Cattle and Tobo. Our regular force had been sent south and so soon as our militia could be collected and joined by a few regular corps from the army, his Lordship rapidly retreated. . . . Our light parties came up with him at yr. Holwater [Hotwater] plantation and again between Green Spring and James Town, where warm rencontres ensued to the British loss of between 4 & 500 in killed and wounded on the American side about 150 killed, wounded and missing. Immediately after the last action, the enemy

during the 1750s.

¹¹³ Taliaferro then owned Powhatan Plantation, whereas Travis possessed the northeastern part of Jamestown Island and Piney Grove (what became the Governor's Land At Two Rivers subdivision).

crossed the James River in the night of the 7th instant. The enemy have not injured your crops at the different plantations, which are at present very good. At the 1st visit they took 60 head of cattle away [Ballach 1911-1914:II:242-244].

Thus, William Lee's losses, though substantial, apparently weren't as severe as his neighbors.'

On October 30, 1781 William Lee's friend, Ralph Izard of South Carolina, paid a visit to Green Spring even though the Lees were still living abroad. Izard wrote to his wife and described the plantation's condition, and he enclosed a note from Green Spring's overseer, Mr. Valentine, that was to be forwarded to William Lee. Izard told his wife that:

L'd Cornwallis & his plundering associates had robbed Mr. W. Lee of between 60 & 70 negroes. Half of them are recovered, but I fear the others are lost. His property here is considerable & his friends here are surprised that he does not come here & live on it. If he can reconcile himself to a Country life, he has everything here that he can reasonably desire. The House in which I am now writing is a very large Mansion, at least as large as ours at Goose Creek and in a much more ruinous condition than that was when you saw it [Stanard 1901:24-25].

Izard said that he had left his wagon and horses at Green Spring, at the suggestion of Richard Henry Lee, and that "Mr. Valentine, the manager, has behaved with the utmost civility & attention & seems to be a very honest, good sort of man" (Stanard 1901:24-25; Stanard 1929:292).

In February 1782 William Lee asked his brother, Richard Henry Lee, "to have the Fruit trees replaced, to have young fellows put apprentices to the trades, [and] to have the whole of Powhatan Swamp converted into a Timothy field meadow." William also said him that he had dispatched a complaint to the Marquis de Lafayette about "all [the] damage done to the Estate at Green Spring last Campaign" (Stanard 1929:300). In June he informed Richard Henry that his health was failing and that he was too old to make plans to move to Virginia without knowing more about the

conditions that he would find. He inquired "what sort of education can be got for my son [William Ludwell Lee] in Virginia, whether any of our houses in Williamsburg or that at Greenspring are in a proper habitable condition for us, and which of the house servants are still alive and capable of service." He also sought his brother's advice on the feasibility of bringing his family to Virginia. In October, Lee again queried his brother about what "the condition of the mansion House [Green Spring] is, whether that or any of the houses in Williamsburg are fit to inhabit." He said, "If repairs of consequence are necessary what may be the expense of them and what materials will be wanted from Europe?" He closed by asking Richard Henry Lee to contact Mr. Valentine, Green Spring's overseer. A month later, William Lee wrote to Richard Henry's son, Thomas, and thanked him for "getting back so many of our Negroes as you assisted Mr. Valentine to recover after the Siege of Yorktown" (Stanard 1930:38-39).

In 1782, the year James City County's land and personal property tax rolls commenced being compiled, William Lee was credited with 7,107 1/2 acres, an aggregate that included Green Spring, plus the outlying quarters on the west side of Powhatan Creek that his wife had inherited from her father. The size of Lee's landholdings remained constant through 1793. In 1782 William Lee, who was then residing in Brussels, paid taxes upon 93 slaves, 8 horses, 124 cattle and 4 free tithables, i.e., Mr. Valentine and the men who would have assisted him in managing Green Spring and the Lees' subsidiary farms (James City Land Tax Lists 1782-1793; Personal Property Tax Lists 1782).

Early in 1783 William Lee wrote to Mr. Valentine at Green Spring, expressing his confidence in the overseer's managerial skills. However, he couldn't resist the opportunity to offer him advice. He told him "to keep a nursery well supplied with good young graftings of all kinds of fruit trees, particularly of the

choicest and best apples both for cyder and eating," and asked Valentine to send him an account of how many slaves, cattle, sheep, and horses were at Green Spring. He also told his overseer to make note of the slaves' ages and whether they were field workers or house servants (Stanard 1930:39).¹¹⁴ Lee asked Valentine to give him

. . . a particular account of the condition of the Mansion House at Green Spring. Send me the dimensions of ye principal floor, the width and height of all the windows in every room; what sort of glass is in [them] and the size of it; what is ye hight from the ground to the paved gallery that leads to the Front door - for I suppose all ye steps are broken down. Perhaps the best method will be to get ye best Undertaker in ye Neighborhood to examine ye house thoroughly and make an estimate of how much money it will take to repair ye House compleatly and in what time it can be done and to give you a list of all ye materials that will be wanted from Europe for that purpose such as nails of different sorts, glass, paint, locks, etc. [Stanard 1930:39].

William Lee, in anticipation of moving to Virginia, wrote to Edward Browne in Belgium, and asked him to send ahead a few gallons of rum, some good brandy and wine, 20 or 30 lbs. of good tea, an anmor [cask?] or two of good Rhine wine, and "a piece of the large figured yellow pattern India stuffs, etc." He told Browne to "Let no good bargain escape you of good beds and beddings- neat proportioned chairs and useful . . . stuff such as you know will be wanted in Virg. and will be fit for my use at Green Spring." The following month he wrote Browne that he wanted to procure a carriage from London and some horses, too, if that were possible (Stanard 1930:39-40). He ordered curtain material from London merchant Samuel Thorpe and expressed his preference for fabric in a Scotch weave that was durable and would launder well. In March 1783 Lee informed Thorpe that he

¹¹⁴ One of Valentine's duties as overseer was to see that William Lee's slaves received adequate medical attention. The slaves at Green Spring were under the care of Dr. John Galt of Williamsburg, whose account book lists a house call he made there on December 24, 1782 (Tyler 1899-1900:261).

would embark for Virginia in late April and would like to have a carriage "not too heavy for two moderate horses to draw easily. Three harnesses will be necessary and remember what I pointed out about ye breaching of ye thrill or shaft horse, so that both of them may equally support ye chaise in going down hill." He also said that he wanted "a pair of strong, light and bony horses provided they can be got at a reasonable price" (Stanard 1930:40). Later, when Thorpe informed Lee that he had succeeded in finding him a suitable post chaise or chariot, Lee told Thorpe that he wanted the vehicle decorated with "a single letter L with the crest over it viz: a Squirrel cracking a nut as to the Seal of this Letter & the motto viz: Non Incautus Futuri." He did not, however, want the ornamentation to include the Lee family coat of arms (Stanard 1930:42; Woodward 1974:313).

On April 2, 1783 William Lee wrote his overseer, Mr. Valentine, that "in four or five weeks . . . I hope to sail for Virginia, so that some time in the month of July I may see you at Green Spring." He told Valentine to purchase three or four good carriage horses (preferably a matched team that stood 15 hands high and was from 4 to 6 or 7 years old) plus a good saddle horse that was sure-footed and had an easy gait. He also asked him to procure 500 to 600 lbs. of good goose feathers, suitable for making six or seven beds (Stanard 1930:40-41).

Next, Lee contacted a shipping firm in London about securing passage for himself, his eight-year-old son, and a man-servant, along with "common Baggage, etc. that a gentleman usually carries . . . on such a voyage and which are commonly put in the Captain's cabin." He also requested use of the captain's cabin for his son and himself, a stateroom to sleep in, and "fresh meat for ye table as I do not eat salt meat, [plus] Wine, Tea, Coffee, Sugar, etc, etc. and for ye servant, room and eating such as the sailors have." William Lee, in preparation for his voyage to Virginia, arranged for his wife to receive a quarterly allowance

of 1,000 L sterling, while she remained abroad (Stanard 1930:42-43).

On September 20, 1783, William Lee arrived in Hampton Roads. While his ship was at anchor on the Horseshoe Bar, near Old Point Comfort, he wrote a letter to Edward Browne in Belgium. He said that the first part of his voyage was difficult, although the passage from Madeira to Virginia had been very pleasant. He indicated that he and his son had had an "abundant supply of all good things for living. . . . Your fresh butter in pots is not yet gone, it is now nearly as good as at first. Mr. Edwards' eggs lasted to the Capes and [were] pretty good. The Madeira Wine is excellent, the Tours [is] good, but the Bordeaux is only Miserable," capitalizing and underlining the latter word for the sake of emphasis (Lee, September 21, 1783). William Lee, shortly after arriving at Green Spring, wrote to William Edwards of Brussels and sent his young son's affectionate regards to Edwards' daughter, saying that "William has not by any means forgot his Lass with the golden locks, he desires his love to her." Lee also dispatched a letter to his nephew, Thomas Lee, at Chantilly, in which he enclosed accounts of the linen, cutlery, nails, earthenware, grindstones and other goods he had sold (Lee, October 17, 1783).

William Lee, less than a month after his arrival in Virginia, was elected a state senator, who represented three counties. He informed a friend in Belgium that his "own private affairs here are in a state sufficient to make any man crazy." The letters Lee wrote while living at Green Spring reveal that he kept Mr. Valentine (the overseer) in his employ and occasionally used him as his agent. Lee's correspondence also indicates that he was an active trader and wholesaler whose commercial network extended to Brussels, London, Madeira, the West Indies, Baltimore, and numerous ports and plantations on Virginia's major rivers. The merchants to whom he supplied goods included John

Greenhowe, Samuel Beale, and various others in Williamsburg and Yorktown. Among the items Lee sold were ironmongery, silk gloves and purses, hose, hats, Manchester goods (described as "cottons, muslins, etc."), Birmingham goods ("principally carpenters tools"), Brussels lace, and tinware. In October 1783 Lee informed General Thomas Nelson, who was then in Williamsburg, that he had procured on his behalf 4 dozen blue and white china plates; a complete tea set of Nankeen [Nanking] china (a breakfast set that consisted of six cups and saucers, a sugar dish and stand, a slop basin and two plates); a finely enameled 6 quart punch bowl; an elegant tea urn of new construction, complete with a heater and key; two china wash basins and bottles; a case of pickles; frying pans; wine; shoes and hose; saddlery; and several other items (Lee, October 14, 1783; Stanard 1930:43).

In 1784 William Lee paid personal property tax upon 55 tithables and 42 non-tithables, plus 7 horses and 112 cattle. Tax records for 1785 reveal that he was then employing four men as farm managers: Thomas Williams, Francis Thompson, John Kite, and Thomas Wilson, Sr. Entrusted to their care were 48 slaves over the age of 16; 41 slaves who were less than 16; 9 horses, and 109 cattle. By 1786 Lee may have commenced leasing his plantation quarters to tenants or allowed his former overseers to work those farms as sharecroppers, for the tax rolls list him as the only free white adult male tithe for whom he paid personal property taxes. In 1786 Lee was credited with 8 horses and 108 cattle.¹¹⁵ James City County tax rolls indicate that William Lee, throughout the next decade, was a relatively prosperous gentleman farmer, the number of whose slaves and horses remained

¹¹⁵ Personal property tax lists for 1785 and 1786 include the names of William Lee's slaves.

relatively constant. In 1787 (the last year in which the tax assessor recorded the number of cattle taxpayers possessed), he was credited with 151 head. In 1788 Lee was the owner of a two-wheeled carriage, a taxable luxury item (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1784-1787).

William Lee not only procured merchandize from abroad and resold it to others, he also placed special orders for goods and food items especially intended for him and his family. Lee paid for his imported goods with tobacco produced on his plantations and shipped from the port facilities at Jamestown, College Landing and Capital Landing. His personal requests to his overseas factors suggest that he longed for some of the niceties he had enjoyed while living in Europe. They also reveal that he was a man of cosmopolitan tastes. In November 1783 Lee asked a Norfolk merchant to send him a box of large, well molded Irish or English candles and he ordered from Madeira black hats for himself and his son, a set of Nanking china, three pair of men's leather shoes, enough fabric to make a suit for "a middling siz'd man," one or two dozen common glass tumblers, 100 common-sized seltzer water jugs, a woman's side saddle, raisins for puddings, and 25 lbs. of chocolate. He asked a merchant in Brussels to send him two or three tin coffeepots and six or eight coffee bags, so that he could make coffee according to the method used in Belgium. Lee requested the same man to send him all of his furniture, especially his chairs and mirrors, and asked him to see that the looking-glass in the dining-room was cut and framed as previously agreed upon. He said that the other two large mirrors he had ordered were to be framed in common wood, with "a little gilding round the glasses and ornaments or gingerbread." One of these mirrors was to be 24 inches wide by 36 inches long and the other, 30 inches by 46 inches (Lee, December 31, 1783; January 5, 1784).

William Lee, who suffered from rheumatism, bemoaned the

Virginia merchant's lot in life. He told a friend that:

This country is nothing like what it was, nor can it ever again be the same- the mode of doing business is perhaps peculiar to this place and so fatiguing that perhaps no one can conceive it who has not experienced it. You must be perpetually on horseback and ride perhaps 100 or 200 miles and sell L 100 of goods in the wholesale way - the retail business is as it was [Lee, December 31, 1783].

Lee also was somewhat dissatisfied with his accommodations at Green Spring, for he informed Williamsburg merchant Samuel Beale that if he were still interested in buying or renting his estate, "'tis possible we may agree on either plan. The lands are valuable and all improvable in skillful hands and the Negroes are [as] likely and ingenious as any set in this Country" (Stanard 1930:44).

On January 10, 1784, William Lee wrote Edward Browne of Brussels that:

Nothing that will be hurt by Damp must come here, for this House and every part about the Plantation, in the least wet weather is ten times worse than Flanders, the walls run down with water and all the floors are covered with it. My fine gilded chairs which are not nor can they be, unpacked as yet, I fear will be spoiled, for I can't get a place to put them in [Stanard 1930:44].¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Thomas Jefferson, in his Notes on the State of Virginia, discussed the sweating of brick walls, especially thick ones, and attributed the phenomenon to a combination of high humidity and condensation. He stated that "The unhappy prejudice prevails that houses of brick or stone are less wholesome than those of wood. A dew is often observed on the walls of the former in rainy weather, and the most obvious solution is, that the rain has penetrated through these walls. The following facts however are sufficient to prove the error of this solution. 1. This dew on the walls appears when there is no rain, if the state of the atmosphere be moist. 2. It appears on the partition as well as the exterior walls. 3. Also on pavements of brick or stone. 4. It is more copious in proportion as the walls are thicker; the reverse of which ought to be the case, if this hypothesis is just. . . . A little fire kindled in the room whenever the air is damp, prevents the precipitation on the walls; and this practice, found healthy in the warmest as well as coldest seasons, is as necessary in a wooden as in a stone or brick

That same day, Lee complained to London merchant John Banks that half of the bottles of brandy and gin he had had filled in Ostend were broken by the frost, a reference to the expansion of the fluids' water-content during a freeze. He said, "It began to snow this morning- it is now near 2 feet deep on the plains and is snowing as fast as it can fall. If my poor rheumatic body survives this, I shall begin to think myself nearly immortal" (Lee, January 10, 1784).

Looking ahead to Spring, Lee asked Banks to send him the garden seeds, broccoli, cauliflower seed (white, red and green), early peas, windset beans, and other cultivars that he had left at his London business establishment. He also requested "a slip or two of the largest Dutch artichoke in a little box with some earth," plus enough red clover seed from Flanders to plant four English acres. He asked for five or six gallons of linseed oil, suitable for mixing paint, and told Banks that although he had ordered "a pair of fine 4 foot Mahogany dining tables to join with strap hinges," he had received only one, plus a hexagonal (or six-sided) table that was totally useless. Lee, in commenting upon local economic conditions, proffered that "a Dutch blanket wrapt round the shoulders and fastened before with a wooden skewer is now a genteel and the most common kind of great Coat." He said that his

. . . poor health, the enormous coldness of the weather, with many other causes, heretofore unmentioned, are a great deal too much for me. I ought to be at Falmouth in 4 or 5 days time on Business of great importance, but the Frost is so severe, the roads so bad and my worn-out carcass so crazy, that I can't venture to stir out, tho' this House is no

house. I do not mean to say, that the rain never penetrates through walls of brick. On the contrary I have seen instances of it. . . . [But] in a house, the walls of which are of well-burnt brick and good mortar, I have seen the rain penetrate through but twice in a dozen or fifteen years" (Jefferson 1954:153-154).

better than a barn [Lee, January 10, 1784].

Lee's business may have declined due to his failing health and inability to travel, for eventually he was hounded by his creditors and threatened with law suits on account of old debts. He told one English gentleman friend that he was "really compelled to make reiterated demands to those indebted to me for the patent of what is due me" (Stanard 1930:48).

In 1784 William Lee suffered a devastating personal loss, for his wife, Hannah Philippa, became ill and died on August 18th at Ostend, never having had the opportunity to set sail for Virginia. In April 1785 Lee asked his friend, Samuel Thorpe of London, to see that "the blessed remains" of his wife were interred in the Ludwell family vault in the yard at the Church of Bow. He also asked Thorpe to order five mourning rings to memorialize his late wife and to arrange for his young daughters' transportation to Virginia as soon as possible, though not during the autumnal equinox "at which time the winds are most violent on this coast" (Stanard 1911:289; 1913:395-416; 1930:36). William Lee's correspondence suggests that Samuel Thorpe and his wife took care of his daughters after their mother's death, and that the couple was very fond of them. Lee and the Thorpes jokingly debated the merits of his girls' receiving an English education.

Although Lee conceded that English schooling might be superior, "the manners and customs of the Ladies in England are so extremely different from the Ladies here that I never knew an instance of a Young Lady educated in England who could live happily here." He said that "since Providence has evidently fixt the pot of these Dear Innocents in this Country, it is the bounding duty of a poor anxious parent to adopt those measures that are most likely to promote their happiness" and added that it had been his late wife's wish that the girls be brought up in Virginia. Lee, in closing his letter, said that he was eager to

see his daughters, for his vision was failing and "like the Patriarch of old I shall only be able to distinguish my children by the touch and by the voice." He therefore urged the Thorpes to arrange for the girls' passage as soon as possible (Stanard 1930:46).

On November 29, 1785, the Lee girls and their governess, a Miss Haynes, arrived in Hampton Roads. As soon as their baggage had been collected, they were taken to the home of their aunt at Menokin, who (in accord with their mother's dying wish) was to rear them. Later, William Lee informed the Thorpes that the girls were settled comfortably and that Miss Haynes had found employment "in a respectable and agreeable family" (Stanard 1930:46,49). Lee not only saw that his daughters were brought up in a genteel fashion, he also made arrangements for his son to be educated. William Ludwell Lee attended the classes offered by Walker Maury of Norfolk, who for a time had a boarding-school in Williamsburg. On February 7, 1787, William Lee asked Maury to return the bedstead and bedclothes young William had used while staying with his teacher (Stanard 1930:50).

William Lee, despite the loss of his wife, continued to take an interest in his home at Green Spring. In August 1785 he invited his neighbor, Richard Eggleston of Powhatan Plantation, to hunt on Green Spring's grounds, saying that "whenever I find there is sufficient Deer on my lands to create good and successful sport at a proper season . . . all my neighbors are welcome" (Stanard 1930:46-47).¹¹⁷ Earlier in the year, Lee asked his friend, Edward Browne of Ostend, to send along the personal belongings he had had to leave in his home in Brussels, including a mahogany bookcase he intended for his daughter, Portia, to have. He also called upon Browne to settle his accounts in both

¹¹⁷ This is in marked contrast to his 1770 instructions to Cary Wilkinson to have all hunters prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law (Shepperson 1942:51).

Brussels and Ostend (Stanard 1930:45,47-48).

William Lee commenced repairing and refurbishing the mansion at Green Spring. In July 1786 he asked a London firm to send him

. . . 6 Brass locks for chamber doors, 7 inches long, 4 inches wide with brass knobs and brass catches or cases for the bolt to shoot into. 6 Best padlocks every one to have a different key & all of them to have winding or crooked holes for the key to go into. 6 Iron locks for spansels [spancels or ties] such as the Farmers in England commonly use for fastening the gates of their enclosures, 10 p. of iron wire netting such as is commonly put to windows to keep out [intruders], of the following dimensions- 4 pr. each to be 2 feet 10 inches long, 1 foot 4 inches wide, 2 pr. to be 2 feet 5 inches long and 2 feet wide, 2 prs. each to be 2 feet 5 inches long and 1 foot 8 inches wide [and] 2 prs. each [word omitted] long and 1 foot 3 inches wide [Stanard 1930:49-50].

That Lee was ordering wire netting, locks and padlocks to secure his home suggests that he may have been burglarized or that he was concerned with protecting his valuables. He wrote to Edward Browne, requesting a box of glass, "150 feet of good window glass cut into panes of 12 inches by 10 inches with a good diamond for cutting of glass which you may get exceeding fine & ready fixt in Brussels for an imperial crown" (Stanard 1930:50). Thus, Lee intended for Green Spring's new window panes were to be rectangular.

In 1793, William Lee paid personal property tax upon 66 slaves, 10 horses and a two wheeled carriage. In 1794 William Lee and his son, William Ludwell Lee, were listed together as free white tithes. Between 1793 and 1794 Lee replaced his two-wheeled carriage with a chariot and added a mule to his herd of livestock (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1793-1794).¹¹⁸ Lee informed his brother, who was Virginia's governor, that two of Champion Travis's female slaves had killed their

¹¹⁸ Mules, as draft animals, could withstand heat better than horses or cattle and therefore were highly valued by some Southern farmers.

overseer at the Travis plantation on Jamestown Island. Both had been found guilty of murder and one of them already had been executed. Lee tried to dissuade his brother from granting a stay of execution to the remaining slave, on whose behalf a group of local citizens sought clemency. Lee contended that pardoning a slave who had been convicted of murder would give "very great uneasiness to the people in this neighborhood" and could "promote a perpetuation of those horrid evils which have lately existed in St. Domingo" (Palmer 1968:532-533).

Tax records for 1792-1793 reveal that during 1792 William Lee increased his landholdings by 1,238 acres. It was then that he purchased part of the Governor's Land, which had devolved to the College of William and Mary.¹¹⁹ In December 1794 he informed his brother that he had further enhanced the size of Green Spring by purchasing some acreage from the executors of his deceased neighbor, Major John Warburton, whose land lay "between me and the river and some in the pine woods" (Lee, December 29, 1794). Thus, it appears that he bought all of the late John Warburton's 300 acre estate, which was located on the west side of Deep Creek and abutted the Pine Meadows quarter (Goodall [ca. 1770]). In 1795 the tax assessor credited Lee with Warburton's 300 acre estate plus another 50 acre parcel (James City County Land Tax Lists 1792-1795).

William Lee's agricultural accounts and letter books make reference to the corn and tobacco produced at Green Spring during 1794 and sold to others. In November he asked a Norfolk merchant to obtain six wicker-cased carboys or demi-johns that would hold from 8 to 10 (or 12) gallons. In January 1795 he asked Richmond

¹¹⁹ After the Revolutionary War the Virginia government divested itself of certain publicly-owned properties such as the Governor's Land and that formerly in possession of the Church of England. The Governor's Land and the acreage associated with the royal Governor's Palace in Williamsburg were given to the college to keep or sell.

merchant Robert Gamble to send him two firm, solid grindstones that measured 3 feet 6 inches and 3 feet 9 inches in diameter, of the greatest thickness available; these stones presumably would have been used in Lee's Powhatan Mill, a gristmill on Powhatan Creek. A few months later Lee ordered four strong, well-tempered scythe blades that measured 3 1/2 feet from heel to point and were 4 inches wide near the heel (Lee January 8, July 6, November 12, and December 29, 1794; January 2 and June 27, 1795).

William Lee died at Green Spring on June 27, 1795 and was buried in the churchyard at Jamestown, near the Ludwell tombs. At that point, Green Spring plantation and the decedent's other property passed into the hands of his son, William Ludwell Lee (Stanard 1929:293).

On February 24, 1789, when William Lee prepared his will, he indicated that the task of settling his estate would be complicated by the loss of business papers and vouchers during the recent Revolution, by his having done business in a variety of foreign countries, and the errors in his own records, thanks to "the misfortune of losing my eyesight." He bequeathed to his son, William Ludwell Lee, and his heirs all of his real and personal estate in James City County and Williamsburg, which had descended to his late wife, Hannah Philippa, from her father, Philip Ludwell III. Included were all of the livestock and plantation utensils on his property and "all of my books, plate, and furniture that may be in my house at Greenspring, or in the hands of any other person or persons," except certain items that had been set aside for daughters Portia and Cornelia. He left to Portia a 1,250 acre plantation on Bull Run that he had bought from Colonel John Page in 1787, plus 1,250 pounds sterling, two pieces of her late mother's furniture, and some books. If she married when under age 16, or under age 21 without the consent of her guardians, she was to forfeit her inheritance. Daughter Cornelia was to receive 2,000 pounds sterling and was subject to

the same marital restrictions that applied to her sister. William asked his son to adopt the name "William Ludwell" in order to revive his maternal grandfather's surname. He instructed his executors not to permit timber to be cut on his James City County property or to allow land to be cleared, except for the use of firewood, to erect or repair buildings or fences, to make hogsheads and casks for his plantations' use, or to be used by his wheelwrights and blacksmiths. He wanted two female house servants to take care of his home and a man and a boy to maintain the gardens and stables there and the fruit trees on all of his property (Ford 1968:III:949-955).

On April 21, 1790, William Lee added a codicil to his will, noting that he did not have the original document in hand. He indicated that he was leaving the Ludwell property in James City County and lots in Williamsburg and Jamestown to his son, William, whom he called "William Ludwell," plus the Governor's Land acreage he recently bought from the College of William and Mary, and the land in Loudoun and Prince William Counties he had purchased from John Page. If William Ludwell Lee were to die before reaching age 21, Green Spring (including Scotland and Verneys), plus the testator's Jamestown lots and Governor's Land acreage were to descend to his eldest daughter, Portia. Portia also was to receive half of her father's personal property. Meanwhile, the testator's youngest daughter, Cornelia, was to receive the plantations called Hotwater and New Quarter, houses and lots in Williamsburg, her father's land in Loudoun and Prince William, plus half of his personal property (Ford 1968:III:955-959).

On February 4, 1795, William Lee prepared a final codicil. He indicated that on October 6, 1794, he had purchased a 300 acre tract in the main from John Warburton (the Governor's Land acreage John Harris formerly occupied), plus another parcel of 50 to 60 acres of wooded land between the tracts owned by William

Wilkinson Jr. and John D. Wilkinson. He said that both were to go to his son, William Ludwell, who was to pay his sisters 700 pounds current money as their moiety. Should son William die before the age of 21, both tracts were to descend to daughter Portia, who had to pay a sum of money to her sister, Cornelia (Ford 1968:III:959-961).

On June 11, 1796, the late William Lee's will and its codicils were presented to the General Court in Richmond. As his original executors made no effort to qualify, and as William Ludwell Lee had come of age, he was appointed his late father's administrator (Ford 1968:III:961-962).

WILLIAM LUDWELL LEE

William Ludwell Lee came of age in 1794 and was only 22-years-old when he inherited the bulk of his parents' real and personal property. In 1794 he paid personal property taxes upon 54 slaves who were over the age of 16 and 11 who were at least 12 but under 16. He also was credited with 10 horses/asses/mules and a chariot. Commencing in 1796 he was taxed upon a second wheeled vehicle, a barouche. Meanwhile, William Lee's estate was credited with 8,690.5 acres of James City County land. In 1798, after all debts against the Lee estate had been settled, William Ludwell Lee came into legal possession of 8,000 acres of his father's land, plus 125 acres that he had acquired from William Wilkinson in exchange for 167 2/3 acres he may have considered less useful (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1794-1797; Land Tax Lists 1796-1798).

Shortly after William Lee's decease, William Ludwell Lee asked Benjamin Latrobe to draw up plans for the new dwelling he intended to build at Green Spring, a replacement for the old mansion. The noted architect visited the plantation in 1796 and in 1797 and prepared a watercolor rendering that showed how the

ancient mansion looked in 1796. He also made a detailed drawing that demonstrated how the old dwelling could be modernized by raising its roof line and substituting a row of windows for its old dormers. However, by the time Latrobe returned to Green Spring in 1797, Lee had torn down the old mansion and was progressing with his plans to erect a new one (Carson 1954:7-8,10; Gaines 1957:33-34). ¹²⁰

On July 28, 1796, Benjamin Latrobe wrote in his pocket diary that:

I went in the stage to Williamsburg, where I found horses that carried me to Mr. William Ludwell Lee's house at Greenspring about six miles SW of the city. Greenspring is well known in the history of the American war- has been the scene of an action between part of the American army under General Waine and the British under Lord Cornwallis in which the Americans were defeated. The British did no great damage to the buildings. They destroyed however a quantity of Tobacco which had been housed in a large brick barn and having hauled out a boat which was also secured in the same place they set fire to it. The barn caught fire from the boat and the horse prevented the negroes from putting it out. This was all the injury done. The massive ruins of the barn are a main proof of the superior value of this plantation in former days when Jamestown was the capital of Virginia. **The principal part of Greenspring House was erected by Sir William Berkeley who was Governor of Virginia the end of the last Century.** ¹²¹ (See Stith's and Beverley's history of Virginia). It is a brick building of great solidity, but no attempt at grandeur. The lower story was covered by an arcade which is pulled down. ¹²² The porch has some clumsy

¹²⁰ In 1796, Latrobe indicated that a widow on Green Spring's ground floor had diamond-shaped window panes, whereas rectangular panes were shown elsewhere. The rectangular ones may reflect William Lee's remodeling efforts. A curved wall extended from the front of the mansion, just as Desandrouin had indicated on his 1781 map.

¹²¹ Emphasis added.

¹²² In 1770 Richard Henry Lee told his brother that "the long gallery [at Green Spring] will fall in despite of props, having already quitted the house a little" (Stanard 1929:293). An arcade is evident on John Soane's 1683 sketch.

ornamental brick work about it of the style of James the 1st. The Estate descended to the present proprietor by Natural descent. He is just of age- He was born in England but came out to Virginia very young. He seems activated by a spirit of improvement, and indeed the Estate wants it in every respect.

Greenspring lies about a mile in a strait line from James River. The ground is flat but might be easily drained. All the watercourses are deep and run very freely and I judge that the lowest ground lies 10 or 15 feet above common tides in James river.

The wetness of the season, and I may add the badness of the husbandry has much injured the crop of Indian corn now growing on the estate. But where it has had a tolerable chance its tall and vigorous, although the same land has been in perpetual cultivation since it was first cleared.

The worst circumstance belonging to Greenspring is the swarm of Muskitoes or galinippers which at this season of the year torment men and horses day and night. They made my stay perfectly miserable . . . The extensive woods upon the Greenspring estate still contain a very large quantity of deer and other wild animals. The vicinity of the two Noble rivers York and James really does nothing toward the improvement of this neck of land. Fish, oysters and wildfowl are in pick plenty that most of the proprietors seem content with what Judge Tyler termed his estate on York River in his advertisement, an excellent place for good living, without thinking of anything further. Poverty and decay seem indeed to have laid their withering hands upon every building public and private between Hampton and Shockhoe creek at Richmond.

Greenspring derives its name from a very copious spring of excellent water which bursts from a gentle knoll upon which ye house stands. It is enclosed in a brick house and discharges about as much water as would run through a nine inch pipe from a level with its upper edge.

It is Mr. Lee's intention to pull down the present mansion and to erect a modest Gentleman's house near this spot. The antiquity of the old house, if in any case, ought to plead in the project, but its inconvenience and deformity are more powerful advocates for its destruction. In it the oldest inhabited house in North America will disappear, for it was built in the Year 164[].¹²³ Many of the first

Virginian assemblies were held in the very room in which I was plotting the death of Muskitoes and many of their deliberations were directed to the same end in respect of the Indians and for the same tendency and reasons. They were weak and troublesome [Latrobe August 3, 28, 1796; Waterman and Barrows 1932:12-13].

William Ludwell Lee may have disposed of some slaves in order to raise the money he needed to build a new dwelling, for between 1797 and 1798 the number of taxable blacks in his possession dropped by more than half, from 57 to 28.¹²⁴ He also paid taxes upon only one free white male of taxable age, which suggests that he was attempting to run the plantation himself¹²⁵ or had placed it in the hands of sharecroppers (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1797-1798; Land Tax Lists 1797-1798). William Ludwell Lee, though not as active in public life as his forebears had been, headed a local militia company and on July 9, 1798, he informed Virginia's governor that most of the 85 men in his company lacked firelocks for their weapons. It was perhaps in response to Lee's statement that William Hay, a government official, told the governor that he was going to Green Spring at his earliest convenience (Palmer 1968:VIII:497,507).

Between 1800 and 1803 William Ludwell Lee was credited with four tracts of land: 5,911 acres (what was left the Green Spring plantation after it had been reduced by the 167 2/3 acres he had traded to William Wilkinson); 1,015 acres (part of the Governor's

that it had been constructed in 1640 (Gaines 1957).

¹²⁴ On the other hand, his sisters may have been entitled to some of his father's slaves, for it was around this time that the late William Lee's estate finally was settled.

¹²⁵ If Benjamin Latrobe's critical comments on the condition of Green Spring's corn crop can be taken at face value, Lee was not a skillful agronomist.

¹²³ On his watercolor rendering of Green Spring, Latrobe noted

Land); 125 acres (the land he had acquired from Wilkinson); and another 50 acres. In 1804 Lee's land was attributed to his estate (James City County Land Tax Lists 1800-1804). William Ludwell Lee insured his new dwelling at Green Spring, which had a declared value of \$10,000. He also indicated that he occupied the building personally (Mutual Assurance Society 1804). He died at Green Spring on January 24, 1803 and was buried near his father in the old churchyard at Jamestown. He bequeathed all of his library (except the family Bible) to Bishop James Madison; freed all of his slaves; made a special bequest to the College of William and Mary; and left the balance of his real and personal estate to his sisters, Cornelia Hopkins and Portia Hodgson (Stanard 1929:289-300). ¹²⁶

Thanks to certain ambiguities in William Ludwell Lee's will and the relatively unusual nature of his bequests, part of its text made its way into the records of the State Supreme Court. Lee declared that virtually all of his slaves were to be freed on January 1st of the year following his death. Those who had reached puberty and wished to stay on locally were authorized "to settle on such part of my Hot Water land as my executors may designate." He said that "comfortable houses [were] to be built for them" at the expense of his estate, that they were to be furnished with a year's supply of corn, and that they should be allowed to live on his property for 10 years, "free from any charge." He left to "Joe a Blacksmith all the tools in my blacksmith's shop with the use of the shop free from rent during his natural life." Slaves who were less than age 18 were to be transported to a state north of the Potomac River and educated at the expense of Lee's estate. This would enable them "to acquire an honest and comfortable support." William Ludwell Lee left to

¹²⁶ Cornelia, the eldest child of William Lee, had married John Hopkins, whereas her sister, Portia, was the wife of William Hodgson (Shepperson 1942:440).

the College of William and Mary an endowment of 500 bushels of corn a year to be used toward the support of a free school he wanted to be built in the middle of the county. He indicated that he was setting aside 1,000 acres of his Hot Water tract toward that philanthropy. Thanks to that bequest, in 1868 the College sued William Ludwell Lee's heirs, his sisters Portia and Cornelia, contending that the annual donation of 500 bushels of corn was an obligation of the estate's beneficiaries. They, in turn, offered the College 1,000 acres of land in order to satisfy the decedent's bequest, once and for all. However, the College refused to accept it. In 1818 the State Supreme Court decided that the 1,000 acre Hot Water tract was the only part of Lee's estate that was liable for the corn or an equivalent amount of money (Mumford 1921:VI:163-164). The property was part of William Ludwell Lee's estate until 1845, at which time it was conveyed into private hands. The Hot Water tract was occupied by free Blacks up until the end of the Civil War and was identified as such on contemporary maps (James City County Land Tax Lists 1808-1845; Gilmer 1863, 1864).

In 1803 the late William Ludwell Lee's estate was credited with 28 slaves over the age of 16, 4 slaves who were between 12 and 16, and 11 horses/asses/mules. By the time of the assessor's visit in 1804, that number had dwindled to less than half and in 1805 the estate was credited with only 8 slaves over age 16 and 5 horses/asses/mules (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1803-1805). Thus, Lee's executors were in the process of implementing the terms of his will. Land tax records suggest that the bulk of the decedent's landholdings remained intact until 1810. When Lee died in 1803, he was credited with 5,911 acres (Green Spring); 1,238 acres (identified as "part of Green Spring"); 50 acres, 125 acres (from Wilkinson), 223 acres (from Nettles), and 300 acres (from St. George). Thus, up until the time of his decease, William Ludwell Lee continued to purchase

James City County Land. By 1805 the assessor had combined all of his property into two tracts: 6,386 acres (5,911 + 50 + 125 + 300) and 1,238 acres (1,015 + 223) (James City County Land Tax Lists 1803-1809). It was during this period that the College of William and Mary and William Ludwell Lee's sisters were arguing over what to do about the Hot Water tract and the annual bequest of corn.

William Ludwell Lee's sisters, Portia and Cornelia, appear to have inherited some of their father's acquisitive characteristics. In 1814, when their aunt, Lucy Ludwell Paradise, died, they immediately sought to take advantage of a legal technicality that enabled them to seize her real estate, to the exclusion of her two grandsons, the children of her deceased daughter, Lucy, and an Italian nobleman.¹²⁷ Although Philip Barziza (one of Lucy Ludwell Paradise's grandsons) immigrated to Virginia, married a local girl, and became an American citizen, when he attempted to recover part of his grandmother's estate, he was unsuccessful. He lost the case, which eventually was heard by Virginia's Supreme Court (Shepperson 1942:447-448).

WILLIAM HODGSON

In 1806, when the name of Portia Lee Hodgson's husband, William, first appeared in James City County personal property tax rolls, he was credited with one free white male tithe (himself), 8 slaves over the age of 16 and 7 horses/asses/mules. By 1807 he paid taxes upon a free white male tithe, 24 slaves aged 16 or older, and 15 horses/asses/mules. Hodgson's name wasn't included in the personal property tax rolls in 1807 or

1809, an indication that he had departed from the county.¹²⁸ In 1810, James City County's real estate tax commissioners began crediting William Hodgson with the Green Spring estate, which then consisted of 3,235 1/4 acres, and they noted that he held it in his wife's right (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1806-1809; Land Tax Lists 1810).

An insurance policy that the Mutual Assurance Society issued to William Hodgson in January 1810 reveals that the Green Spring dwelling, which had been built by William Ludwell Lee, was insured for \$10,000. It reportedly was built of brick and roofed over with wooden shingles. The central block, which measured 50 feet by 38 feet, was flanked by wings that were 27 feet long and 17 feet wide. The house had a 48-foot-long front porch that faced in a southeasterly direction. Hodgson's insurance policy indicates that John Hopkins (Cornelia Lee Hopkins' husband) was then living on the premises (Mutual Assurance Society 1810).

In 1809, Peter Lyons of Studley plantation in Hanover County informed his daughter, Lucy, that he intended to go to Green Spring for a ten day visit (Tyler 1926-1927:193). Presumably, he was to be the house guest of John and Cornelia Hopkins, who were then in residence. In 1810 Portia Lee Hodgson's husband, William, was credited with Green Spring, which then was defined as consisting of 3,235 1/4 acres. John Hopkins, Portia's brother-in-law, reportedly occupied the property. On September 30, 1814, an advertisement in Washington's Daily National Intelligencer described Green Spring's attributes to prospective buyers. More than half of the plantation was well timbered with

¹²⁸ There were at least two William Hodgsons living in Virginia at this time. One was a trustee of the city of Alexandria and the other was a resident of Richmond. In 1805, the latter William Hodgson secured a patent for the manufacture of a "brick and tyle apparatus" of undescribed nature (Hening 1809-1823:XIII:175; Chandler and Swem 1922:150). No tax rolls were compiled in Virginia in 1808.

¹²⁷ Under the law, non-Americans were then ineligible to inherit land in America.

cypress, pine, oak and other marketable trees and a sawmill was located on the property. The buildings at Green Spring, which were an estimated 10 or 12 years old, were built by the late proprietor "in a style of superior excellence and on a very extensive scale. The mansion house and offices are all of brick, completely finished and in good order." The property reportedly had extensive orchards of the choicest fruit. In March 1816, when William Hodgson advised the public via the Richmond Enquirer that Green Spring was for sale, he indicated that the 2,934 1/2 acre plantation had a "mansion house and wings of brick [that] were erected by the late proprietor W. L. Lee." By that date, William and Portia Lee Hodgson had sold 300 acres of the land she had inherited to Robert Nelson, to whom they gave an unencumbered title in 1817. However, they retained the Green Spring acreage in its entirety. In 1820 the tax assessor indicated that the buildings on the Green Spring tract were worth \$4,000, a value that remained constant throughout the duration of William and Portia Lee Hodgsons' ownership (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1806-1809; Land Tax Lists 1810-1824; Deed Book 2:506-507).

In 1821 the tax assessor noted that William Jones (a tenant) was then living at Green Spring, along with his 12 slaves who were over age 16 and 6 horses/asses/mules.¹²⁹ In 1821, when the tax commissioner listed the names of taxpayers who owned slaves worth \$100 or more apiece, William Jones of Green Spring was credited with a black man valued at \$120.¹³⁰ During 1822 and

¹²⁹ William Jones may have been renting Green Spring as early as 1817, for by that date he was residing in James City County, yet owned no local real estate (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1817-1823).

¹³⁰ It appears that in 1821 a special tax was levied upon the owners of slaves who had marketable skills (such as artisans) that could be used to generate income.

1823, Jones owned a gig (a two-wheeled vehicle) and he was still in residence at Green Spring. On December 31, 1824, Portia and William Hodgson sold Green Spring to George Mason (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1806-1823; Land Tax Lists 1810-1824; Deed Book 2:506-507).

GEORGE MASON

In 1824, when George Mason purchased Green Spring from Portia Lee Hodgson and her husband, William, the tract consisted of 2,934 1/4 acres and had \$4,000 worth of taxable improvements (James City County Land Tax Lists 1824). Tax rolls suggest that Mason moved to Green Spring shortly thereafter, for in 1826 he was residing there with 8 slaves age 12 or older (and therefore, taxable) and he had a herd of 11 horses, asses and mules.¹³¹ Throughout the next few years, the number of slaves Mason owned and the size of his livestock herd increased slightly. He may have rented some of his slaves to Dr. Thomas Martin of nearby Powhatan Plantation, for the tax rolls for 1827 and 1828 reveal that Mason paid taxes upon 10 to 16 adult slaves who reportedly were in residence at Martin's (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1824-1832).

George Mason's financial circumstances seem to have deteriorated during the years he owned Green Spring, for between 1830 and 1832, the number of slaves and quantity of livestock in his possession dwindled steadily. Personal property tax rolls for 1833 suggest that Mason left James City County during 1832, the same year David I. Anderson (who bought Green Spring in 1834) arrived. The timing of Mason's departure and Anderson's arrival

¹³¹ Comparative research in personal property tax rolls and census records has demonstrated that typically, about half of a slaveholder's slaves were of taxable age. Thus, Mason probably had approximately 16 slaves in all.

raises the possibility that Anderson took possession of Green Spring two years before he obtained an unencumbered title to it (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1830-1834).

During the ten years that George Mason owned the Green Spring plantation, he maintained but did not enhance the value of its taxable improvements. In 1834, when he sold the farm to David I. Anderson, Green Spring's buildings were worth \$4,000, the same value they had had in 1824 when Mason purchased the property from the Hodgsons (James City County Land Tax Lists 1824-1834; Deed Book 2:506-507).

DAVID I. ANDERSON

In 1833 James City County's tax commissioner noted that David Anderson, who was then a local resident, had 6 slaves who were over the age of 16 and 5 horses/asses/mules. In 1834, when Anderson purchased Green Spring from George Mason, he was credited with 13 slaves age 16 or older and one between 12 and 16, plus 8 horses/asses/mules. He also paid the poll taxes for himself and another free white male. In 1835 Anderson sold a half-interest in Green Spring to his brother, John C. Z. Anderson of Williamsburg, who added his slaves to the plantation's work force. Although in 1835 neither of the Andersons lived in James City County, they paid taxes upon the 20 adult slaves and 7 horses/asses/mules then residing at Green Spring. Between 1836 and 1838 the number of slaves and taxable farm animals the Anderson brothers owned increased. The listing of a stud horse and the fee the Anderson brothers charged for his services suggests that they were involved in horse-breeding (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1833-1838).

Throughout the years the Anderson brothers owned Green Spring, the collective worth of its buildings remained constant. In 1839 the tax assessor noted that Thomas Martin (John C. Z.

Anderson's commissioner) had deeded the property to the exclusive ownership of David I. Anderson, who took as a business partner, Robert C. A. Ward, a resident of New Jersey. As a result of Ward's and Anderson's collaboration, the number of slaves and the quantity of livestock at Green Spring increased still further. In 1842 the two men were credited with 20 adult slaves, 16 horses/asses/mules and a carry-all (James City County Land Tax Lists 1834-1840; Personal Property Tax Lists 1834-1842).

In 1841 David Anderson purchased 1 1/2 acres of vacant land from Edward R. Crawley, owner of an adjacent tract. The following year, the assessor made note of two significant changes with regard to Green Spring. Owner David Anderson was listed as a resident of the state of New York and the value of the improvements on the Green Spring farm had risen from \$4,000 to \$4,500, thanks to the addition of a saw mill. Meanwhile, the 1 1/2 acres that Anderson had bought from Crawley the year before remained unimproved. In 1843, when the tax assessor prepared his annual estimate, Green Spring was described as abutting the James River, the Warburton estate (Pinewoods) and the land of John Coke (the farm known as "Amblers"). Later in the year, David Anderson deeded the Green Spring tract over to his business associate, Robert C. A. Ward (James City County Land Tax Lists 1841-1843; 2:506-507; 4:646). According to mid-nineteenth century historian, Benson J. Lossing, Ward and his brother, "for many years, as skippers upon the James River, bartered for the products of [Green Spring] until they were able to purchase it" (Lossing 1852:240).

ROBERT C. A. WARD

When David Anderson conveyed the Green Spring tract to Robert C. A. Ward, on July 5, 1843, the farm consisted of 2,934 1/2 acres and had improvements worth \$4,500, which included a

\$500 sawmill that had been built during the year. In 1844 the tax assessor credited Ward with Green Spring's 2,934 1/2 acres, plus 1 1/2 acres that he had bought from John Anderson, the same tract that David Anderson had purchased from Edward R. Crawley in 1841. Ward also was in possession of 42 acres in western James City County that contained a mill worth \$800. Between 1844 and 1850, Robert C. A. Ward's real estate tax assessment remained constant, an indication that he was maintaining but not enhancing the improvements on his property (James City County Land Tax Lists 1841-1850; Deed Book 2:506-507; 4:646).

Personal property tax assessment rolls for 1843 reveal that Robert C. A. Ward owned 20 slaves who were over age 16, 16 horses/asses/mules, a wooden clock, and a carry-all. The absence of free white males upon whom Ward paid poll taxes suggests that he had placed Green Spring in the hands of a tenant or sharecropper who paid his own personal property taxes. Between 1845 and 1850 the number of slaves upon which Robert C. A. Ward paid taxes grew steadily, as did the size of the Green Spring farm's herd of livestock. In 1849 Ward was credited with a carriage, a taxable luxury item. Commencing in 1845, Ward and his brother, John, were listed as joint-owners of the slaves, livestock and other taxable personal property located at Green Spring (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1843-1850).

In 1850, when agricultural census records commenced being compiled for rural Virginia, Green Spring was under the management of George C. Richardson, who was then living upon the property. It is unclear whether he was the Wards' overseer, a sharecropper or a tenant. In 1850 only 300 of Green Spring's 2,934 1/4 acres were under cultivation and the rest of the farm's acreage was described as unimproved. The estimated value of Green Spring was \$20,000 and its agricultural implements and farm machinery were worth \$800. Green Spring's livestock herd (which was valued at \$1,800) included 5 horses, 14 asses and mules, 12

milk cows, 8 oxen, 30 cattle, 4 sheep, and 30 swine. During 1849, 1,100 bushels of corn, 20 lbs. of hay, 2,500 bushels of oats, 10 bushels of peas and beans, 10 bushels of Irish potatoes, and 35 bushels of sweet potatoes had been produced on Green Spring's tilled acreage. The farm's dairy cattle had yielded 600 lbs. of butter and its sheep had produced 15 lbs. of wool. The value of the livestock that had been slaughtered for consumption during the previous year (1849) was \$500 (James City County Agricultural Census Records 1850). Tax assessment records indicate that in 1850 there were 36 slaves at Green Spring who were over the age of 12. Half of those individuals were age 16 or older. The Ward brothers also were in possession of 17 horses/asses/mules, a carriage and two clocks (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1850).

In 1851 the value of Green Spring's taxable improvements rose from \$4,500 to \$4,800 at which time the tax assessor noted that \$800 of that figure was attributable to a sawmill. The value of the improvements on Robert C. A. Ward's 42 acre mill tract in western James City County also increased from \$800 to \$1,500. These adjustments in Ward's assessments apparently were part of a county-wide adjustment in the local tax base. On November 4, 1854, Robert C. A. Ward sold an interest in Green Spring to his brother, John, who already owned 120 acres of William Edloe's estate and part interest in another 744.5 acre tract. Between 1851 and 1861, the value of Green Spring's buildings remained constant at \$4,800, a figure that included a saw mill worth \$800 (James City County Land Tax Lists 1851-1861; Deed Book 4:646). Thus, it appears that the farm's domestic complex, which in 1820 had an assessed value of \$4,000¹³² and included the dwelling or gentleman's house built by William

¹³² It should be recalled that the insured value of the dwelling was \$10,000 (Mutual Assurance Society 1810).

Ludwell Lee in ca. 1797, was maintained but was not further embellished.

Between 1852 and 1859 the Ward brothers were credited with 28 to 35 slaves, 21 to 23 horses/asses/mules and 57 to 66 cattle, sheep and hogs. They also paid taxes upon \$50 to \$60 worth of household furniture and other taxable items valued at \$100 to \$150. Thus, they appear to have been providing a furnished residence to their farm manager. Between 1854 and 1856, two or three white adult males were living at Green Spring and in 1857 that number rose to four, then immediately declined. Although the identity of these men is unknown, they may have been hired workers or the grown sons of Green Spring's resident farm manager or tenant. By 1859 only one free white male was living on the Ward brothers' Green Spring property, along with 34 slaves age 12 or older (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1852-1859).

Agricultural census records for 1860, which were based upon 1859 productivity data, reveal that Green Spring was then under the management of William P. Edloe. At that time, 400 of the farm's 2,934 1/2 acres were under cultivation and the balance of the acreage was forested or unimproved. The fair market value of Green Spring farm was \$30,000.¹³³ On hand were farming implements that were worth \$660 and a livestock herd with an estimated worth of \$2,560 and included 11 horses, 10 asses and mules, 7 cows, 8 oxen, 25 other cattle, and 40 swine. During 1859, \$240 worth of animals were slaughtered for consumption and 50 bushels of wheat had been harvested, along with 1,500 bushels

¹³³ Previous research has demonstrated that the value of real estate listed in agricultural census records was a relatively accurate reflection of a property's true worth. In contrast, the evaluation assigned by a tax assessor typically was much less than the fair market value. In 1860 the fair market value of Jamestown Island, which consisted of ca. 1,700 acres, was \$40,000.

of corn, 400 bushels of oats, and 13 1/2 tons of hay. No homemade manufactures reportedly were produced on the farm during 1859 (James City County Agricultural Census Records 1860). Personal property tax rolls indicate that in 1860 there were 35 slaves at Green Spring who were over age 12, 29 horses/asses/mules, 40 sheep, and 33 cattle (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1860). Among the farm workers at Green Spring was at least one free black, a man named John Cassidy. In 1862, when several white men and a boy were murdered at the nearby Neck O' Land farm of William Allen, a free black male from Surry County, who also had been shot and left for dead, made his way to Green Spring to seek the help of his friend, John Cassidy (Palmer 1968:XI:236).

In late April 1862, when Union troops moved out of their stronghold at Fort Monroe and set out toward Richmond, hoping to capture the Confederate capital and bring the war to a timely end, the domestic complex at Green Spring plantation became a casualty of war. According to a letter written by L. W. Lane, a local Confederate military veteran, "When [Union Army General George] McClellan left Harrison's Landing [Berkeley Plantation] a portion of his troops crossed to Barrett's Ferry and on their march applied the Torch to that grand old House [Green Spring]."

Lane recalled that the plantation was then "owned by two brothers, Robert and John Ward, living in Hackinsac, N. J., and strange to say, had their slaves and overseer on the farm." Lane claimed that "the federal governor gave them over \$6,000 [in compensation for] damages."¹³⁴ In 1865, the county tax assessor noted that \$4,300 had been deducted from the value of Green Spring's improvements "for building [that was] burnt" and that

¹³⁴ Lane, who was a Williamsburg resident, also stated that Union troops burned the old "Powhatan House," then the home of Dr. Martin, and "Dunbar," the home of Parke Jones (Tyler 1928-1929:176-177).

whatever structural features that remained intact were worth only \$500. In 1870 the value of the farm's buildings was still the same (Tyler 1928-1929:176-177; James City County Land Tax Lists 1865-1870). Thus, if the Ward brothers did indeed receive \$6,000 compensation for the damage done to their Green Spring property, they did not re-invest those funds in the repair of its buildings or in the construction of new improvements there. During the 1860s Union Army veteran David Cronin prepared a sketch that depicted the ruinous Green Spring and in 1890 an artist produced an engraving that showed what was left of the "modest Gentleman's house" William Ludwell Lee built nearly a hundred years earlier (Cronin 1862-1865; Gaines 1957:37).

In 1863 and 1864 when Confederate cartographers prepared detailed maps that included much of James City County, six buildings were shown on the Green Spring property (Gilmer 1863, 1864). On the west side of Route 614's forerunner was the dwelling built by William Ludwell Lee, plus three other buildings, and on the east side of the road, to the north of the domestic complex, were two other structures. The land surrounding these buildings was clear, whereas much of the farm was then wooded. On the south side of Route 5's forerunner was a sawmill. A landing was positioned on the banks of the James River, near the mouth of Deep Creek. Sometime between 1781, when the vicinity of Green Spring was mapped by Revolutionary War cartographers, and the mid-1860s, when the Confederates prepared their renderings, the course of Route 614's forerunner was shifted from its original right-of-way on the west side of Green Spring mansion site to its present course, on the east side of that location. This realignment most likely occurred during the late 1790s, when William Ludwell Lee razed the old Green Spring mansion, which was oriented toward Jamestown, and constructed his new dwelling.

LESLIE SUNDERLAND AND LATER OWNERS

On June 15, 1871, Robert C. A. Ward and his wife, Harriett, and John J. Ward and his wife (all of whom were residents of New Jersey) sold the Green Spring tract (described as consisting of 3,000 acres more or less) to Leslie E. Sunderland of James City County. The Wards' deed to Sunderland recapitulated the property's chain of title, from Portia Lee Hodgson, on. Sunderland, when buying Green Spring, was obliged to use the farm and some of his personal property as collateral, in order to secure his purchase money. Among the possessions he mortgaged were 6 mules, 3 horses, 20 cattle, 40 sheep and all of his farming implements (James City County Deed Book 2:506-509).

Ultimately, the economic hardships that characterized the Reconstruction period and its aftermath overwhelmed Leslie E. Sunderland, who fell deeply into debt and became increasingly overextended to his creditors. He was forced to mortgage his steam-powered saw mill and its equipment, which were then on the Green Spring farm, plus four carts used for conveying logs and lumber, three carry-logs, and two yokes of oxen. He also secured his debts with another parcel of James City County land that he owned, the Davis-Henley tract. Finally, Sunderland conveyed his life insurance policy to the Wards, along with 1/6 of all of the money he would earn from harvesting the timber on the Green Spring tract (James City County Deed Book 2:424,498; 3:302,328-329). An 1873-1874 topographic map that shows the territory between the farm's dwelling and the James River suggests that Green Spring was then densely wooded (Patterson 1873-1874).

Despite Leslie E. Sunderland's attempts to cover his indebtedness, he was unable to repay the Wards, thereby obtaining a clear title to Green Spring. Ultimately, he defaulted upon his mortgage agreement and in 1878 deeded his interest in Green Spring to Robert C. A. Ward and J. W. Quackenbush, John J. Ward's

executor. Quackenbush, in turn, conveyed the decedent's interest in the property to his only child and heir, Martha, on January 12, 1880. In May 1886, Martha Ward and her mother, Maria, plus Robert C. A. Ward and his wife, conveyed the Green Spring farm (described as 3,000 acres) to Leiper M. Robinson of King William County, who borrowed his purchase money (James City County Deed Book 4:646,650). During December 1887, Robinson sold 3,120 acres called Green Spring and Crawley's to Isaac A. Braddock and E. T. Gill (James City County Deed Book 4:782,789).¹³⁵ The 3,120 acres were bound on the north by Powhatan Swamp, on the east by the St. George and Maine farms, on the south by the James River, and on the west by the main road and the land of Moses Harrell and Barrow Jones, Dennis Chandler, and others (James City County Deed Book 4:782,789).

During 1888 Isaac A. Braddock and his wife deeded one-third of their half-interest in Green Spring and the Crawleys tract (which comprised the southerly part of the property) to A. S. Gay. He also served as their trustee and in that capacity conveyed the remaining two-thirds of the Braddocks' half-interest in Green Spring to Samuel S. Evans, along with the mill and machinery that were on the property and the Braddocks' timber rights. Both Gay and Evans borrowed their purchase money, using their respective shares of Green Spring as their collateral (James City County Deed Book 5:153). In October 1888, Isaac A. Braddock bought 150 acres from his former partner, E. T. Gill, part of Gill's half-interest in the Green Spring and Crawleys tracts. Thus, although Braddock had disposed of his original half-interest in the Green Spring and Crawleys tracts through his sales to Gay and Evans, he purchased 150 acres that comprised a portion of his former partner's half-interest. In 1890 Braddock

¹³⁵ Robinson also deeded 15 acres to B. D. and T. G. Peachy and 517 acres to White A. Robinson.

transferred to Henry S. Loucheim his two-thirds interest in the 150 acres, i.e., all but his wife's dower share. The property was described as lying adjacent to Powhatan Swamp and abutted the site of the old mill (James City County Deed Book 5:64,297).

In 1889, E. T. Gill, Samuel S. Evans and A. S. Gay deeded their respective interests in Green Spring farm to Edwin Tomlinson of New Jersey, who was then serving as their trustee. Evans and Gay, it should be recalled, owned the half-share of the Green Spring and Crawleys tracts that formerly had belonged to Gill's business partner, Isaac A. Braddock; meanwhile, Gill himself was in possession of his original half-share of the tracts, less the 150 acres he had sold to Isaac Braddock in 1888. Ultimately, Gill procured Evans' and Gay's interest in Green Spring, coming into possession of 2,850 of the farm's then estimated 3,000 acres (James City County Deed Book 5:63-66,153).

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While E. T. Gill of New Jersey owned Green Spring, it was an active, working farm that was occupied by a farm manager, tenant or sharecropper. In 1898, when Gill sold Green Spring to Charles G. Reeve and his wife, Rebecca, he not only conveyed to the Reeves all of the farm's acreage (exclusive of the 150 acres that he had deeded to Isaac A. Braddock in 1888 and 150 acres he reserved for his own use) but also the all of the household furnishings, farming equipment, vehicles, and livestock that were on the property. These items, which were tabulated at the time they were conveyed to the Reeves, shed a considerable amount of light upon the material culture of a turn-of-the-century working farm (see Appendix C). The Reeve couple, who like E. T. Gill, were residents of New Jersey, borrowed the funds they needed to

¹³⁶ It should be noted that during the time Braddock and Gill jointly owned Green Spring and Crawleys, the two properties' were treated as a single entity of 3,120 acres, an aggregate that was called Green Spring.

purchase Green Spring. Therefore, they deeded the farm to B. D. Peachy, their trustee, and used as supplementary collateral the portable engine and sawmill that were on the tract when they purchased it (James City County Deed Book 6:600-602,604;7:125; Plat Book 1:1). Charles G. Reeve may have been confronted with financial adversity, for he deeded a half interest in the Green Spring tract to Samuel Magill in June 1900. Six months later Reeve conveyed his residual half-interest in Green Spring to Joseph L. Thomas and William F. Reeve, who had agreed to serve as the Reeve couple's trustees (James City County Deed Book 7:422,424-429).

In 1903, William F. Reeve, acting as Charles G. and Rebecca Reeve's trustee, conveyed their half-interest in the Green Spring farm to Chandler B. Chapman of Madison, Wisconsin. He promptly deeded the property back to Reeve as collateral (James City County Deed Book 9:122). On November 13, 1906, Chapman bought Samuel Magill's half-interest in Green Spring from Romanzo and Sarah P. Bunn of Madison, Wisconsin, who by that date had taken over Magill's assets. In all of these land transactions, the Green Spring tract was described as having been reduced from its original 3,000 acres through the sale of 150 acres to Isaac Braddock in October 1888 and 150 acres, which E. Tomlinson Gill had retained when selling the rest of the farm to Charles G. Reeve (James City County Deed Book 6:302-303,602;10:122-123;Plat Book 1:1).¹³⁷

¹³⁷ A deed and plat prepared for Gill in 1904, when he sold his 150 acre lot to E. B. Warburton of Williamsburg, state that the land Gill was disposing of formerly had been part of the Green Spring tract. It abutted south upon the James River, north upon Green Spring, east upon an old road to the farm's dock, and west upon Deep Creek and some other land that belonged to Warburton, who had purchased the 120 acre Crawleys tract (James City County Plat Book 1:1; Deed Book 9:388).

In March 1908 Chandler B. Chapman and his wife conveyed their equity in the 2,700 acre Green Spring tract, plus 200 acres called Powhatan Swamp, to the Oriana Stave and Lumber Company of Madison, Wisconsin (James City County Deed Book 11:229-230). Meanwhile, William F. Reeve, as Chapman's mortgagee, conveyed his interest in the property (i.e., the balance remaining on Chapman's mortgage) to Isaac DeHaven, who assigned it to Henry Schulkamp of the Standard Realty Company (James City County Deed Book 14:178-179,181,183-184). Finally, in 1910, when the Oriana Stave and Lumber Company purchased the Standard Realty Company's interest in the Green Spring tract by paying off the residual balance of Chandler B. Chapman's mortgage, the Oriana firm became the sole owner of Green Spring (as it was then defined) plus the 200 acre Powhatan Swamp tract (James City County Release Book 1:329-333).

In 1913, the officers of the Oriana Stave and Lumber Company sold 248 1/2 acres of the Green Spring farm to E. W. Warburton and a year later, conveyed their residual Green Spring acreage, plus the 200 acre Powhatan Swamp tract, to Mabel R. Scott of Ohio. Her land, as an aggregate, was described as being bound on the north by Powhatan Swamp, on the east by the St. George and the Maine farms, on the south by the James River and the Gill property, and on the west by the road to Bacon's ferry and the lands of Crawley, Jones, Dennis and others (James City County Deed Book 14:178-179;15:74). In May 1923, Mabel R. Scott Lee and her new husband, Clarence O. Lee, sold her James City County land to the Pine Dell Development Company.¹³⁸ Within that deed is a notation that Brick Bat Road then formed Green Spring's eastern boundary, separating it from a 18.246 acre parcel the Lees had sold to E. W. Warburton in 1918. A topographic map of the area, published in 1927, reveals that buildings and farm roads were

¹³⁸ Mrs. Scott, a widow, had remarried in 1920.

scattered throughout the property (U.S.G.S. 1927; James City County Deed Book 17:466;20:520).

When the Pine Dell Development Company sold several tracts of land to Clarence B. Sturges in August 1926, included was the Green Spring tract's residual acreage (still described as 2,466 acres) and the 200 acres called the Powhatan Swamp. At the time of the sale, Mabel R. Scott Lee obtained quit claim deeds from William F. Reeve, who had served as trustee to Chandler B. Chapman in 1906, and Charles G. Reeve and his wife, who had acquired 150 acres of the property from Joseph L. Thomas (James City County Deed Book 21:11,59-60; 23:144).

In January 1930 Congressman Louis C. Crampton introduced a bill into the House of Representatives that gave the Secretary of the Interior the authority to designate historic sites in Jamestown, Williamsburg and Yorktown as part of the Colonial National Historical Park. All three areas were to be linked by a scenic boulevard. The Crampton Bill was debated hotly by local citizens, many of whom viewed it as a major intrusion of "big government." In 1932 an Act of Congress and a Presidential Proclamation heralded creation of the Colonial National Monument and the acquisition of all of Jamestown Island except that portion owned by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. Surveyors laid out a boulevard that linked Yorktown and Jamestown and passed through Williamsburg. In June 1936, when Congress enacted legislation that changed the name of the Colonial National Monument to the Colonial National Historical Park, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to acquire through purchase or donation "such land, easements, and buildings comprising the former Governor Berkeley's mansion and household" (Virginia Gazette, June 6, 1930; September 23, 1932; February 21, 1936).

In May 1940, J. Temple Waddill prepared a survey of Green Spring, as it was then defined. At that time, the tract was

composed of 1,777.2 acres located north of Route 5 and straddling Route 614, plus 690.91 acres that lay on the south side of Route 5 and fronted upon the James River (James City County Plat Book 8:36). Paul R. Greisenauer then was leasing two lots, portions of the tract's 690.91 acre component. When Clarence B. Sturges and his wife, Marion, died, their heir and executrix Nannie S. Brooke, conveyed 1,752.9 acres of the Green Spring tract (that portion which lay on the upper side of Route 5 and includes the study area) to R. Cowles Taylor of Newport News, in a transaction that occurred on October 1, 1942 (James City County Deed Book 34:513-516). Mrs. Brooks already had sold 24.3 acres to Paul R. Greisenauer several months earlier and two other parcels had passed into the hands of the Pine Dell Development Company under the terms of Clarence B. Sturges' will (James City County Deed Book 37:575,577- 578; Will Book 20:520).

In 1946 R. Cowles Taylor sold his portion of the Green Spring tract (which then consisted of 1,752.9 acres) to the James River Lumber Company, which mortgaged it (along with some other James City County properties that the firm owned) to Philip Murray of Newport News. The Green Spring farm was described as straddling Route 614 and it included 2.5 acres that were located on the south side of Route 5. The northern boundary of the 1,752.9 acre parcel bordered east and northeast upon the property of Greisenauer, Nightingale and Harris and Powhatan Swamp; north upon a branch of Powhatan Swamp, Richardson's land, and the center line of Route 613; and west upon the land of Scott, Jenkins and Warburton. It abutted south upon Route 5. Reference was made to the plat Waddill made in May 1940 (James City County Deed Book 37:575,577-578; Plat Book 8:36).

In August 1947 the officers of the James River Lumber Company sold their equity in the Green Spring tract (1,752.9 acres plus 2.5 acres on the south side of Route 5) to a firm called Aberdeen Heights, Inc. Its officers conveyed the property

to Philip Murray, who held the James River Lumber Company's mortgage on the property (James City County Deed Book 39:307,360-361). During the 1950s, when federal and state officials began making preparations for a commemorative celebration in recognition of Jamestown's 350th anniversary, consideration was given to reconstructing the Green Spring mansion. Although that concept was abandoned, extensive excavations were carried out at the Green Spring mansion site by National Park Service archaeologist Louis J. Caywood and historian Jane Carson was employed to investigate the property's history. Both produced reports that shed a considerable amount of light upon Green Spring's cultural traditions (Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Committee 1958:57, 66, 115, 126- 129).

In 1965, Philip Murray's heirs (David M. Murray and Frances Murray White and her husband, Albert L.) conveyed to the National Park Service two parcels of land that surrounded the old Green Spring mansion: 12.55 acres that lay on the west side of Route 614 and 166.37 acres located on the east side of Route 614. The following year, the Murray heirs sold Green Spring's residual acreage, which had been divided into three smaller parcels (916.77 acres, 572.5 acres, and 2.37 acres) to the Green Spring Land Corporation (James City County Deed Book 109:444-448; Plat Book 24:28A-28B).

In December 1969 the Green Spring Land Corporation conveyed its property to United Virginia Bank, which institution was serving as its trustee. The bank, in turn, deeded the property to N. J. Patten and I. L. Wornom of Newport News, at which time the Green Spring Trust was created (James City County Deed Book 124:387,393). In 1978 the officers of the Green Spring Trust conveyed 5.74 acres to the United States government. All three government-owned parcels became a component of the National Park Service's Colonial National Historical Park. In December 1986 the law firm of Anderson, Emmett and Franck, which was then

acting as trustee for the Green Spring Land Trust, conveyed the bulk of the 916.77 acre component of the Green Spring farm (less several small exceptions) to Greenspring Plantation, Inc. Six months later, in May 1987, the law firm of McGuire, Woods and Battle, as trustee of the Green Spring Land Trust, deeded 17.28 acres on the south side of Route 5 to Green Spring Plantation, Inc. In 1991 Green Spring Plantation, Inc., owned 1,400.3989 acres of land, part of the original acreage that comprised the seventeenth century Green Spring tract (James City County Deed Book 181:533; 322:254;351:751; Land Tax Lists 1993). Nearby, and sharing a common boundary line with the National Park Service acreage, is Patriot's Colony, a residential community.

Today, efforts are underway to develop the National Park Service property at Green Spring into an important historic attraction. The National Park Service has sponsored archaeological testing of the property and much thought is being given to the type of educational and interpretative facilities that are needed. The Friends of the National Park Service for Green Spring, Inc., a non-profit, all volunteer organization, has been formed to assist in bringing the National Park Service's plans to fruition.

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APPENDIX A

LUDWELL FAMILY GENEALOGY (Shepperson 1942:453-455).

Thomas Ludwell of Bruton, Somerset, England: d. 1657

|
Philip Ludwell, I, of Rich Neck
b. in England

m. Lucy Higginson in 1667
had 2 children: Jane and Philip, II
m. Lady Frances Berkeley of Green Spring in 1680 (no children)
d. 1716 in England

|
Philip Ludwell, II, of Green Spring
b. at Fairfield in 1672

m. Hannah Harrison in 1697
had 3 children: Hannah Philippa, Lucy and Philip, III
d. 1727

|
Philip Ludwell, III, of Green Spring
b. at Green Spring in 1716

m. Frances Grymes in 1737
had 3 children: Hannah Philippa, Frances, and Lucy
d. 1767 in England
Green Spring to Hannah Philippa, eldest daughter

|
Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee
b. at Green Spring in 1737

m. William Lee in 1769
had 3 children: William Ludwell, Cornelia, Portia
d. 1784 in England
Green Spring to husband, William Lee, d. 1795
Green Spring to son, William Ludwell Lee

|
William Ludwell Lee of Green Spring
b. 1775 in England

never married
d. 1803 at Green Spring
Green Spring to sisters, Cornelia and Portia

|
Portia Lee Hodgson
b. 1777 in England

m. William Hodgson, d. 1840

Green Spring was sold out of the family by Portia Lee Hodgson and
her husband, William, in 1824.

APPENDIX B

Appraisal of the personal estate of Philip Ludwell, III, deceased
March 25, 1767, on his property in James City County (Tyler
1913:395-416).

Green Spring Plantation

Material Goods:

1 parcel of garden tools
1 desk
1 bed, blankets, curtains, and bed stead
1 square table
1 pair of andirons, fender and tongs
1 seal skin trunk
1 clothes press
2 trunks, 2 mattresses and carpet
1 bed and furniture
1 bed and furniture
1 dressing table and glass
1 looking glass
6 rush chairs and cushions
1 tea table
1 pair of andirons, tongs, shovel, fender and brush
1 kitchen clock
carpenters tools and 2 whip saws
1 small bed tick and bolster
3 bed covers
1 bed quilt
1 parcel of old curtains &c.
2 pair cotton and 1 pair ozn. [oznaburg] sheets
1 suit of mosquito curtains
stripped muslin curtains
1 suit of Virginia Cloth curtains
1 suit of thread damask curtains
5 window curtains of Virginia Cloth
1 suit stamped [printed?] Virginia Cloth curtains
1 dressing glass
2 trunks, 1 chest, and lumber
3 canes
1 calico suit of field bed curtains
1 suit plaid curtains
1 suit seersucker curtains
1 suit silk patchwork curtains
2 shovels, 3 pair tongs, 2 chests
2 marble mortars, 4 pestles
1 bed and furniture
1 bed and furniture
1 leather couch
1 chest of drawers and dressing glass

1 corner cupboard
1 dressing table and glass
1 old looking glass
1 close stool
8 cane chairs, 2 stools, 1 square table
1 small carpet
2 pair andirons, fender, tongs, shovel
1 bed and furniture
1 bed bolster and bedstead
1 silk bed quilt
1 cane couch and furniture
1 field bedstead
6 window curtains
12 plain, 2 elbow [with arms?] chairs 12 walnut chairs
2 square walnut tables
1 corner and 2 oval tables
1 square table and dressing glass
1 old chest of drawers, maps and pictures
2 tables and 5 rush chairs
1 speaking trumpet and lumber
1 pair andirons, tongs and shovel
2 beds, bedstead and old trunk
3 beds, 3 bolsters, 2 pillows and bedstead
12 yards linen and caps of lace
4 trunks and 2 old chairs
2 trussle (trundle) beds and bolster
3 trussel bedsteads
2 old coal stills
1 pewter cooler
10 old leather chairs
10 old cane and rush chairs
2 old corner cupboards, chest of drawers, and bureau top
old chests of lumber
1 bed, bolster, coverlet, 11 blankets and 2 old bedsteads
6 chairs
1 dressing table, 2 glasses
1 old desk, square table
3 small trunks
1 pair andirons, fender, shovel, tongs and bellows
1 old desk
1 large table
1 plate case
2 mahogany tables
1 mahogany table
1 walnut table
1 mahogany writing table
1 tea table
18 leather chairs
1 large looking glass

8 pictures
 andirons, fender, tongs and shovel
 bolting cloths
 5 pair worsted stockings
 9 yards drugget buttons and twist
 8 yards shalloon and livery lace
 5 1/4 lbs. blue thread
 2 lbs. whited brown thread
 20 lbs. brown thread
 2 hair [horse-hair covered?] trunks
 1 case, 11 bottles
 1 backgammon table
 1 bird cage, tin cistern
 1 table, 1 funnel, 2 rat traps, 1 glue pot, 5 pictures, 1 bracket
 1 plate warmer
 3 pair men's black gloves
 1 old table and pot case
 1 large mahogany table
 1 walnut table
 1 square table
 2 tea tables
 1 desk and bookcase
 1 screen
 1 large looking glass
 1 spinet
 12 walnut and 2 corner chairs
 5 pictures
 1 floor cloth
 1 pair andirons, fender, tongs and shovel
 1 mahogany clothes press
 1 square tea table and wash stand
 22 blue and white china dishes
 7 1/2 dozen blue and white china plates
 11 red and white gilt china dishes
 37 red and white gilt china plates
 5 red and white gilt china bowls
 14 blue and white bowls
 2 blue and white mugs
 1 broken set gilt cups &c.
 1 broken set gilt cups &c.
 1 broken set gilt cups &c.
 1 broken set blue and white cups &c.
 1 broken set blue and white cups &c.
 1 broken set white cups &c.
 14 chocolate cups and saucers
 8 brown cups and 2 tea pots
 8 glass cans
 7 decanters
 3 candle glasses and candlesticks

8 fruit glasses
 39 finger glasses and 10 stands
 15 glass tumblers
 4 glass salts, 6 cruets, 2 mustard pots
 18 glass tart molds
 24 cider glasses
 9 strong beer glasses
 58 wine glasses
 1 set of glass salvers
 99 jelly glasses
 4 large white stone mugs
 3 quart and 2 pint white stone mugs
 a parcel of white stone cups &c.
 7 wash basins
 a parcel of stone and brown ware
 11 stone sweet meat pots
 a parcel blue and white earthenware
 23 canisters, 5 nipple glasses, 3 boxes
 6 lead chocolate molds
 9 teaspoons and case
 10 chamber pots
 1 case dessert knives and forks
 1 case old knives and forks
 2 teaboards and 2 sliders
 1 tea chest and cannisters
 2 dozen ivory knives and forks
 1/2 dozen old sweetmeat forks
 5 brass chafing dishes
 4 pair nutcrackers and 2 pair steel snuffers
 1 coffee roaster, 1 toaster
 14 brass and 1 steel candlesticks, 3 pair snuffers
 5 copper tea kettles
 1 copper coffee pot, 1 chocolate pot
 2 Japan waters
 3 white stone tea pots, 6 mugs
 18 brown stone mugs
 5 earthen pots, 4 pipkins, 2 brown tea canisters
 2 locks with brass knobs
 2 blue and white stone mugs
 3 dozen thin pewter plates
 4 dozen pewter plates (used)
 1 dozen water plates
 25 pewter dishes
 6 water dishes
 1 pewter basin
 1 copper cooler
 53 lbs. old pewter
 2 pewter shaving pots
 1 parcel tinware

1 brass coffee pot and hand bell
 2 pair bellows
 2 warming pans
 3 hair brooms, 1 mop
 2 brushes, 2 sliders, 1 pair snuffers
 2 pair large cards
 3 box irons and heaters, 2 flat irons, 3 stands
 1 shovel, 1 dark lantern
 4 searches, 4 small sifters
 3 hour glasses
 3 knots jack lines and coffee mill
 1 tea chest
 5 chests, 4 trunks, 4 boxes
 1 pine press
 1 plate basket, hampers and baskets
 1 chest, 2 boxes of candles
 42 lbs. bees wax
 4 book cases, 1 trunk, 1 box of books
 1 desk and book case
 1 mahogany chest of drawers
 1 reading desk
 1 field bedstead and curtains
 1 saddle, housing pistols, holsters, &c.
 4 tables
 3 rush chairs
 3 pair money scales and weights
 1 set globes and pocket compass
 8 pictures
 1 gun
 1 candlestick and stand, fender, andirons, tongs, freirt and bellows
 1 powder horn, shot bag, 3 gun worms, 3 brass cocks
 1 reading frame
 1 pair large pistols, 1 pair pocket pistols
 shot and bullet molds, 1 hand vice, scrapers, worms, shot bag and bullets
 7 old swords, 1 bayonet, 2 cart boxes, gun bucket and chain
 medicines, mortars, glasses &c.
 1 cave scarificator &c.
 2 old chests of drawers
 1 large hand vice, 1 sun dial
 1 pair spurs and nail cutters
 3 pair scales and weights, trunk, glasses &c.
 sugar chest, canister, baskets &c.
 1 brass box lock
 2 presses, 1 chest, table, drawers, scrubbing brush, hand brushes
 3 pair steelyards
 1254 lbs. Indigo
 2 pipes of wine

1 box of soap
 1416 lbs. old iron
 54 lbs. old brass
 34 new broad hoes
 107 new narrow hoes
 18 new broad axes
 18 new narrow axes
 8 sets of cart boxes
 5 pair andirons
 320 lbs. cart tire and mill cudgeons
 16 lbs. brown thread
 8 lbs. shoe thread
 5 calf skins and hair cloth
 smith's tools
 paint and lampblack
 chest of carpenters tools
 5 bags
 1 large hand bell and carving knife and fork
 29 Indigo knives
 100 candle molds
 1 tin hand pump and large canister
 alum
 5 bed cords
 23 old reap hooks
 a parcel of cards
 41 Indigo hoes
 10 pair sheep shears
 hair brooms and brushes
 1 pair tongs and shovel
 3 pair TL hinges
 28 washers, clouts, and nails
 2 bung borers
 4 garden rakes, 1 reel, 3 hedge bills
 1 trunk, 1 laced hat
 17 yards blue cloth
 7 yards white shalloon and flannel
 livery lace
 6 1/2 yards buckram
 buttons and twist
 1 pair can hooks and 2 trowels
 20d nails
 10d nails
 8d nails
 6d nails
 4d nails
 3d nails
 12 stock locks
 1 old saddle, bridle &c.
 chests &c.

box of pipes
 14 scythes and whetstones
 1 new whip saw
 5 old whip saws
 6 new frying pans
 2 pads
 11 sifters
 1 old chariot and harness
 a parcel of leather
 2 old seines
 1 drill plow
 2 pair Dutch blankets
 old chests, boxes, &c.
 ropes and halters
 4 pair X Garnet hinges, harrow teeth, &c.
 1000 ells oznaburgs
 500 yards cotton
 12 dozen Irish hose
 Virginia cloth
 77 lbs. wool
 1 pair large scales and weights
 174 lbs. yarn
 38 lbs. washed wool
 12 lbs. cotton
 21 lbs. spun cotton
 22 yards Rushia [Russia?] linen
 bottled wine
 7 jars and 15 gallons of oil
 2 jugs spirits of turpentine
 1 cask Spanish brown
 8 1/2 dozen pint bottles
 13 pint bottles Rhenish [wine?]
 1 carboy French brandy
 3 jugs and 5 gallons honey
 5 1/2 dozen quart bottles
 1 old desk, 2 old tables, 2 chairs
 1 clothes press
 19 lbs. feathers
 1 bed and bedstead
 1 pair andirons, fender, 1 pair of tongs, 2 chafing dishes
 2 tables
 3 jars and 1 stand
 10 butter pots
 1 marble mortar and pestle
 32 milk pans
 tubs and pails
 2 pie plates, 2 cake pans, 1 cheese plate, 3 pastry pans
 2 pewter and 1 lead cream and butter pots
 1 gallon pottle

1 quart, 1 pint, 1 1/2 pint, 1 gill pots
 1 sifter, 1 search case, 1 flower [flour] chest
 2 churns, 2 trays
 2 tables, 2 benches
 1 black pot and pickle bottles
 12 old windsor chairs
 1 loom and harness
 3 spinning wheels and cards
 1 vice safe
 1 iron mortar
 11 jars and soap
 13 pots and jugs
 small jugs and Martin pots
 7 carboys and 17 jugs
 1 box and hard soap
 3 copper coal stills
 7 iron pots and hooks
 7 pot racks
 1 spit rack
 1 pair andirons and poker
 1 jack and 8 spits
 4 frying pans, 3 dripping pans
 2 ladles, 3 skimmers, 1 grater
 1 old Dutch oven, 3 brass pans
 1 old copper fish kettle, 1 preserving pan, 2 sauce pans
 1 copper fish kettle, 1 preserving pan, 2 stew pans
 3 copper kettles
 5 bell metal skilletts
 2 grid irons, 3 trivets, 2 flesh forks
 tallow
 3 pickle pots, 1 spice mortar
 2 old coppers [?]
 2 tubs, 2 pails, table and bench
 salt
 3 meat troughs, 6 tubs
 1 furnace for ashes
 wheelwright's tools and old tire
 1 old bolting mill
 5 pots of butter
 2 rolling stones
 1 pair tarriers, flyers, &c.
 shoemaker's tools &c.
 19 bell glasses
 180 feet of tops and 18 M Blades
 1 boat and sails, 1 pettiauger
 4 old guns
 265 barrels of corn
 5405 lbs. tobacco
 180 bushels wheat

10 bushels of peas
53 hides
15 skins
1 apple press

Livestock:

2 asses
47 head of cattle
26 young cattle
12 calves
10 draught steers
63 sheep
36 hogs
24 shoats
4 sows & 29 pigs
1 horse (young Britton)
1 horse (Partner)
11 mares
6 colts
1 sorrel horse (Sterling)
1 sorrel horse (Skim)
1 bay horse (Ruby)
1 small sorrel horse (Mare)
1 bay horse (Chance)

Slaves:

men: Billey, Matt, Edmond, George, Charles, Bacons, Will, Adam,
Sam, Marcus, Jemmy, Cupid, Simon, Jack, Scipio, Sam, Billey,
Nero, Pompey, Roger, Parriss, Horriess, Dick, Harry, Dick, Johnny
Ralph, Toney, Guy, Ned

boys: Isaac, Aaron, James, Anthony, Joe, Roger, Paul, Cato,
Cupid, Jacob, Mercury, Godfrey, Sawney

women: Rachel, Daphney, Marcy, Nanny, Sukey, Betty, Margery,
Sarah, Fay Chamber, Hannah, Winney, Mourning, Betty, Amey,
Belinda, Hannah, Bess, Sally, Distimony, Fay, Silah, Dinah

girls: Letty, Chloe, Grace, Polley, Ciceley, Nanny, Nell, Judith,
Aggey, Sillah, Eadith, Lydia, Chris

Hot Water Land

Material Goods:

1 brass barrel gun
1 ox cart & gear
1 grind stone & iron pot
171 1/2 barrels of corn
100 feet of tops & 14 M blades
1683 1/2 lbs. of tobacco

33 1/4 bushels of wheat

Livestock:

[information is fragmentary]

Slaves:

men: Wil, Manuel, Peter Currier, Peter Fox, Tinker, Lott, Jack,
Damus

boys: Anthony, Lewis, Charles, Billey, Frank, Thomison, Keziah

women: Sukey, Till, Beller, Fanny, Moll, Sarah, Tempey, Rachel,
Amey, Letty, Sall, Betty, Sukey

girls: Rose, Judith, Phillis, Lucy

Scotland

Material Goods:

27 broad and narrow hoes
7 axes and 1 G [gouge?]
3 harrow teeth
1 iron pot & 1 grind stone
3 iron wedges
1 ox cart and gear
22 barrels of corn
134 feet of tops and 13 M blades
3683 lbs. of tobacco
14 1/2 bushels of wheat

Livestock:

7 draught steers
30 head of cattle
6 calves
14 sheep
15 hogs
10 small hogs

Slaves:

men: George, Daniel, Vulcan, Gaby, Sam, Dick, Robin

boys: Peter, Toby, Isaac, Tom, Jack

women: Dinah, Beck, Crager, Silvy, Phillis

girls: Beck, Jane, Pheby, Judith, Hester

Cloverton

Material Goods: [list is fragmentary]

[] axles and wedges

[] Pot
[] Tops & blades
[] Barrels of corn

Livestock:

[] head of cattle
[] calves
[] sheep
[] and 18 pigs

Slaves:

men: Cupid, Jack, Robin, Colley,

boys: Solomon, Giles, Michael, Hannibal, Will, Cupid

women: Sarah, Juno, Sue, Nanney

girls: Winney, Fay, Chloe, Sukey, Nancey, Sall

Pinewood Meadow

Material Goods:

1 cart and gear
14 hoes and 4 axles
3 harrow teeth & 3 wedges
1 iron pot & grind stone
87 1/2 barrels of corn
78 feet of tops & M blades

Livestock:

6 draught steers
21 head of cattle
2 calves
31 sheep
5 hogs and 15 pigs

Slaves:

men: Phill, Harry, Duncan, Abel

boys: Kitt, Edmond, Dick, Mike, Joe, Mallard

women: Thomison, Sarah, Nanney, Eve, Phillis, Mimey

girls: Phillis, Lydia, Betty, Eady, Fanny

Mill Quarter

Material Goods:

1 cart and gear
10 hoes
2 harrow hoes, 3 wedges and 3 axes

grind stone, mill pecks &c.
tops and blades
49 barrels of corn

Livestock:

4 draught steers
13 head of cattle
6 calves
21 hogs

Slaves:

men: Jemmy, Mingo, Simon

boys: Bob, James, Charles

women: Milley

girls: Molley

Archers Hope

Material Goods:

1 cart and gear
plantation tools
1 iron pot & grindstone
75 feet of tops and 6 1/2 M blades
73 barrels of corn
1878 lbs. of tobacco

Livestock:

4 draught steers
28 head of cattle
8 calves
49 sheep
18 hogs

Slaves:

men: Robin, Will, Patrick

boys: Parsiss, Will

women: Sue, Moll, Fanny, Lucy, Bess, Lucy Fox

Rich Neck

Material Goods:

1 cart & gear
1 ox cart and gear,
23 broad and narrow hoes
5 axes and 3 wedges
3 harrow teeth and 1 flock [flake?] hoe

APPENDIX C

The personal property of E. Tomlinson Gill that was located on the Green Spring farm in 1898 (James City County Deed Book 6:600-602).

Household Furniture:

1 double bedstead
1 spring mattress
4 bedsteads
2 small cane chairs
1 small rocking chair
1 lg. rocker
1 oak bureau
1 oak towel rack
1 oak writing desk
2 andirons
3 lamps
1 chamber set (6 pieces white)
1 wash basin and pitcher &c.
bedding
1 straw double mattress
1 double feather mattress
4 straw mattresses
10 single pillows
1 bolster
2 bolster cases
11 pillow cases
10 sheets
2 comfortables [comforters?]
2 double blankets
3 quilts
1 chair tidy
12 napkins

Floor Coverings:

carpets- stairs and hall
1 lg. parlor rug
1 green Brussels carpet (bedroom)
4 Smyrna rugs &c.

Culinary Equipment and Utensils:

1 lot milk pans
9 dinner plates
9 cups and saucers
9 dessert saucers
1 platter
1 cream pitcher
1 water pitcher

3 veg. dishes
1 cake plate
6 butter pieces
12 tumblers
dishes
6 knives
6 tablespoons
12 forks
12 teaspoons
1 pepper box
1 salt box
1 vinegar bottle
1 molasses cup
1 ice cream freezer

Livestock:

3 heifers
2 cows
2 steers
1 colt
1 hog
1 stud horse
2 geldings
3 mares
2 dogs
lot of chickens

Farming Equipment:

hay press
1 mowing machine
1 self-binder
1 sulky cultivator
1 sulky plow
3 heavy team wagons
3 hay bodies
1 corn sieve
5 blows
2 hand corn planters
1 brier hook
3 sets team harness
1 set buggy harness
1 set cart harness
1 set single buggy harness
1 lot of collars, halters, bridles, &c.
1 lot of shovels, forks, hoes, picks &c.
1 Disi corn plow
1 hay rake
1 corn sheller
1 fallow harrow

Vehicles:
1 Jersey wagon
1 buggy
2 carts

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And Others Along John Tyler Highway

For Their Help in the Publication of

THE HISTORY OF GREEN SPRING PLANTATION
COLONIAL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK